



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

국제학석사학위논문

**US Military Interventions and the Rise
of Terrorism in the MENA**
(Middle East and North Africa)

MENA (중동 및 북아프리카) 지역에서의
미 군사개입과 테러리즘에 대한 연구

2015년 8월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과

Mouna Makmoul

US Military Interventions and the Rise of Terrorism in the MENA

(Middle East and North Africa)

Thesis by

Mouna Makmoul

Department of International Studies

In Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of International Studies

August 2015

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

Seoul, Republic of Korea

US Military Interventions and the Rise of Terrorism in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa)

**MENA (중동 및 북아프리카) 지역에서의
미 군사개입과 테러리즘에 대한 연구**

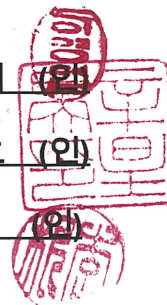
지도교수 이 근

**이 논문을 국제학석사학위논문으로 제출함
2015년 8월**

**서울대학교 국제대학원
국제학과
Mouna Makmoul**

**Mouna Makmoul의 석사학위논문을 인준함
2015년 8월**

| | | |
|------|-----|-----|
| 위원장 | 이영섭 | (인) |
| 부위원장 | 신성호 | (인) |
| 위원 | 이근 | (인) |



THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by

The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

Have examined a thesis entitled

US Military Interventions and the Rise of Terrorism in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa)

Presented by **Mouna Makmoul**

Candidate for the degree of Masters of International Studies, and hereby certify that the
examined thesis is worthy of acceptance:

Committee Chair


Rhee, Yeongseop

Committee Vice Chair


Sheen, Seong-Ho

Thesis Advisor


Lee, Geun

Date: August 2015

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 1 ABSTRACT | 1 |
| 2 INTRODUCTION..... | 2 |
| 2.1 What is terrorism?..... | 3 |
| 2.2 Theaters of operation in the MENA | 7 |
| 2.3 Key players in the MENA | 15 |
| 3 LITERATURE REVIEW..... | 18 |
| 3.1 Interventionists vs. non-interventionists..... | 18 |
| 3.2 Justifying war | 27 |
| 4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY | 32 |
| 4.1 Research Questions | 32 |
| 4.2 Significance of the research..... | 33 |
| 4.3 Data Collection | 33 |
| 5 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS | 34 |
| 5.1 Discrepancies in the discourse | 34 |
| 5.2 The impact of the discrepancies: Public opinions on both sides..... | 49 |
| 6 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS..... | 64 |
| 7 CONCLUSION | 65 |
| 8 APPENDICES..... | 66 |
| 9 BIBLIOGRAPHY | 72 |

1 ABSTRACT

This paper explains the weaknesses of the arguments used by interventionists such as Human Rights, Ethics, Justice and Security issues in order to intervene militarily in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) against “terrorist” groups or states.

Therefore we test the necessity of these interventions by assessing the moral and legal basis and the relevance of the arguments that the US uses in justifying interventions, were they direct or indirect.

Given that terrorism is a political weapon, we take into account MENA public opinion in assessing these justifications.

First, we explain the main geopolitical context in the MENA. Who are the key players: allies and enemies?

We set the main arguments used to justify wars and military support in the MENA in the name of “counter-terrorism”, which are mainly linked to Moral, Justice and Security issues. We then try to explain why these arguments can’t be accepted by the Muslim people in the MENA.

By analyzing the public opinion in the MENA, we show that these interventions create anarchy and hatred in the region and amplify terrorist threat in the world. Therefore, they can simply not be considered as the right counterterrorism policy. Order can’t emerge from chaos.

Keywords : Terrorism, Military interventions, MENA

Student ID : 2014-24321

2 INTRODUCTION

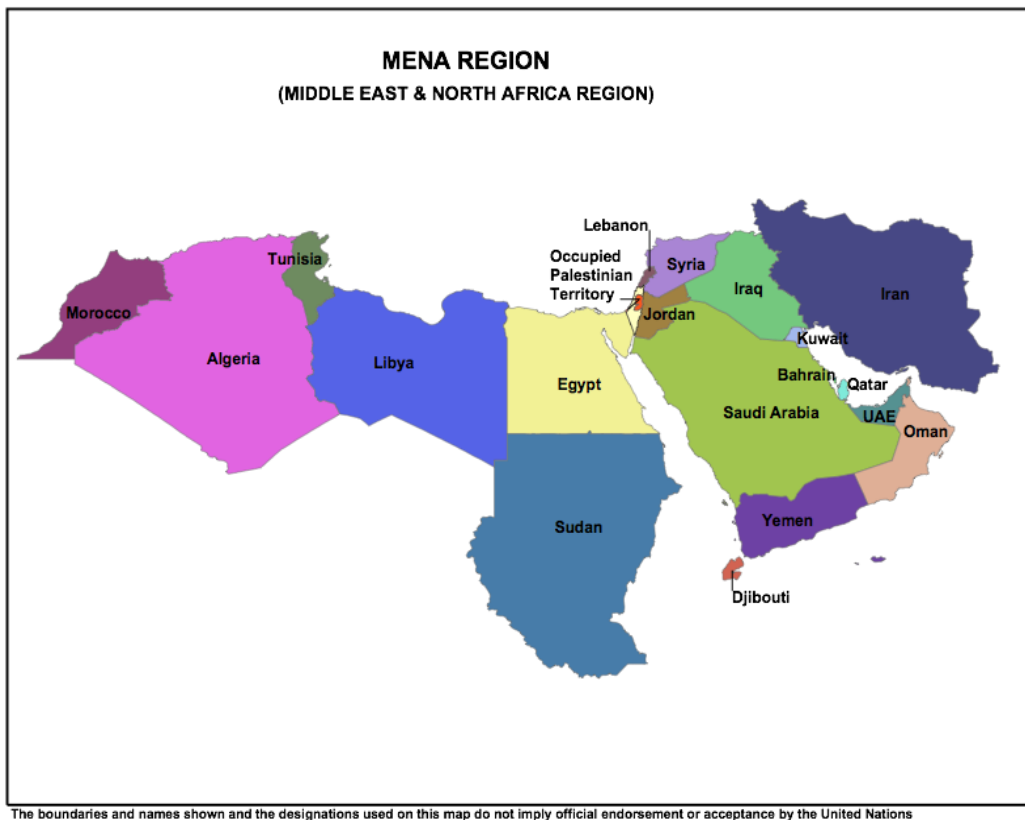
Since 2003, US military interventions increased in Middle Eastern and North African countries. Each intervention comes more radical than the previous one. It doesn't create any appeasement in the region nor in Western countries. Why did these military interventions fail? What is seen as wrong in the arguments used by US politicians and the Media? Were all these interventions necessary after all? What do MENA people think of US interventionism?

What is MENA?

According to the World Bank, the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) refers to following countries Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza, Yemen¹, as shown in the map below²:

¹“Middle East And North Africa.” *Middle East and North Africa*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://web.worldbank.org/wbsite/external/countries/menaext/0,,menupk:247619~pagepk:146748~pipk:146812~thesitepk:256299.00.html>>

² UNICEF official website http://www.unicef.org/har07/files/MENA-15_Nov_2006.pdf



2.1 What is terrorism?

Definition of terrorism

Terrorism is a difficult term to define. Etymologically, the term “terrorism” comes from the French word “terrorisme”³ referring to the “Reign of Terror” that occurred after the beginning of the French Revolution between the Girondins and the Jacobins. It was marked by mass executions of “enemies of the revolution”. Human losses were significant. The

³ Williamson, Myra. *Terrorism, War and International Law: The Legality of the Use of Force against Afghanistan in 2001*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009. Print.

death toll ranged in the tens of thousands, with 16,594 executed by guillotine⁴. Robespierre, one of the most prominent figures of the Revolution, offered a justification of the Terror. In his speech to the Convention, delivered on 5 February 1794, he stated: “The government in a revolution is the despotism of liberty against tyranny.”⁵

Hence this common origin, the word has today different meanings, there is no consensus on the right definition. One 1988 study identified a total of 109 different definitions⁶, and the number would be far higher today.

Judge Richard Baxter, formerly of the International Court of Justice, writing in 1974, has even questioned the utility of a legal definition, stating: “We have cause to regret that a legal concept of terrorism was ever inflicted upon us. The term is imprecise; it is ambiguous; and, above all it serves no operative legal purpose”⁷

Inspired by his works, Rosalyn Higgins, the first female judge elected to the International Court of Justice wrote in 1997: “Terrorism is a term without any legal significance. It is merely a convenient way of alluding to activities, whether of States or of individuals, widely disapproved of and in which either the methods used are unlawful, or the targets protected, or both”⁸

Sami Zeidan, a Lebanese diplomat and scholar, explained that the reason behind the

⁴Edelstein, Dan. *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Print.

⁵ Stearns, Raymond Phineas. *Pageant Of Europe; Sources and Selections from the Renaissance to the Present Day*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947. Print.

⁶Schmid, Alex Peter., A. J. Jongman, and Michael Stohl. *Political Terrorism: a New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1988. Print.

⁷ Baxter, R. R. *A Skeptical Look at the Concept of Terrorism*. Akron, OH: University of Akron, 1974. Print.

⁸ Higgins, Rosalyn, and Maurice Flory. *Terrorism And International Law*. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.

difficulty of finding a definition is the risk it entails of taking positions:⁹

“The political value of the term currently prevails over its legal one”. Besides, the word tends to change according to the interests of particular states at particular times. “The Taliban and Osama bin Laden were once called freedom fighters (mujahideen) and backed by the CIA when they were resisting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Now they are on top of the international terrorist lists. Today, the United Nations views Palestinians as freedom fighters, struggling against the unlawful occupation of their land by Israel, and engaged in a long-established legitimate resistance, yet Israel regards them as terrorists. Israel also brands the Hizbullah of Lebanon as a terrorist group, whereas most of the international community regards it as a legitimate resistance group, fighting Israel's occupation of Southern Lebanon.”

In 2005, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan suggested a definition of terrorism : “Any action constitutes terrorism if it is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or noncombatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act”¹⁰

In the US Code, 18 U.S.C. § 2331 defines "international terrorism" and "domestic terrorism" for purposes of Chapter 113B of the Code, entitled "Terrorism”:

"International terrorism" means activities with the following three characteristics:

- Involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law;
- Appear to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct

⁹ Sami Zeidan, *Desperately Seeking Definition: The International Community's Quest for Identifying the Specter of Terrorism*, 36 Cornell International Law Journal (2004) pp. 491-492

¹⁰ United Nations General Assembly, Secretary General, Report of the Secretary-General *In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all* Chapter 3 (2005) para. 91.

of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and

- Occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the U.S., or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum.*

"Domestic terrorism" means activities with the following three characteristics:

- Involve acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law;
- Appear intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and
- Occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the U.S.

18 U.S.C. § 2332b defines the term "federal crime of terrorism" as an offense that:

- Is calculated to influence or affect the conduct of government by intimidation or coercion, or to retaliate against government conduct; and
- Is a violation of one of several listed statutes, including § 930(c) (relating to killing or attempted killing during an attack on a federal facility with a dangerous weapon); and § 1114 (relating to killing or attempted killing of officers and employees of the U.S.).

* FISA defines "international terrorism" in a nearly identical way, replacing "primarily" outside the U.S. with "totally" outside the U.S. 50 U.S.C. § 1801(c).¹¹

Jihad in Islam

Words in arabic have many different meanings, the word Jihad in Islam is a source of

¹¹ "FBI." *FBI*. FBI, 2013. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/terrorism/terrorism-definition>>

confusion. Literally the word Jihad refers to “striving”, the arabic root being “jhd” which means “to strive”.

In islam, Jihad can refer to the inner spiritual effort or the outer physical struggle¹². The original meaning of jihad is spiritual. According to an attested Hadith in Bukhari “A man came to the Prophet asking his permission to take part in Jihad. The Prophet asked him, "Are your parents alive?" He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said to him, "Then exert yourself in their service."¹³ Jihad is a complex word that doesn't have that much to deal with the use of power.

2.2 Theaters of operation in the MENA

Interventions in the MENA against “terrorist” regimes or groups involving Western countries:

| Western Forces | Attacked country | Year | Target |
|---|------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| USA, UK, France, Australia, Netherlands | Iraq | 1991 | Saddam Hussein Regime |
| USA | Iraq | 1993 | Saddam Hussein Regime |
| USA | Iraq | 1996 | Saddam Hussein Regime |
| USA and UK | Iraq | 1998 | Saddam Hussein Regime |
| USA | Yemen | 2002 | AQAP |
| USA, UK, Australia, Poland Spain, Portugal, Denmark | Iraq | 2003-2011 | Saddam Hussein Regime |

¹² Morgan, Diane. Essential Islam: a Comprehensive Guide to Belief and Practice. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2010. Print.

¹³ “Islam, Quran Verses and Hadith: March 2013.” *Islam, Quran verses and hadith: March 2013*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://quranversesandhadith.blogspot.kr/2013_03_01_archive.html>

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---------------|--------------------------|
| USA | Palestine | 2008-2009 | Hamas |
| USA | Yemen | 2009-2015 | AQAP and Ansar Al Sharia |
| USA, France, UK, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Greece, Belgium, Netherlands and the NATO | Libya | 2012 | Muammar Kaddafi Regime |
| International coalition | Syria | 2013 | Bachar Al Assad Regime |
| International coalition | Iraq | 2014-nowadays | ISIS |
| International coalition | Syria | 2014-nowadays | ISIS |

2.2.1 Iraq

Iraq had been listed as a State sponsor of terrorism by the US since 1990¹⁴, when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. Iraq had also been on the list from 1979 to 1982; it was removed so that the US could provide material support to Iraq in its war with Iran.

Operation Provide Comfort and Provide Comfort II were military operations initiated by the United States, the United Kingdom, and some of the Gulf War allies, starting in April 1991. It aimed at defending Kurds in northern Iraq and deliver humanitarian aid to them. In 1993, U.S. Navy ships launched 23 Tomahawk missiles against the headquarters of the Iraqi Intelligence Service in response to Iraq's plan to assassinate former president George Bush in mid-April.¹⁵ “The attack was meant to strike at the building where Iraqi officials had plotted against Bush, organized other unspecified terrorist actions and directed

¹⁴ "Iraq accuses US, Turkey of 'illegally' meeting with Kurds". CNN. 9 March 2000.

¹⁵ Von Drehle, David & Smith, R. Jeffrey (Jun 27, 1993). "U.S. Strikes Iraq for Plot to Kill Bush". *The Washington Post*.

repressive internal security measures”, senior U.S. officials said. Speaking in a televised address to the nation, Clinton said he ordered the attack to send three messages to the Iraqi leadership: "We will combat terrorism. We will deter aggression. We will protect our people."

In 1996, The US forces attacked Iraq under the code-named “Operation Desert Strike” during the Kurdish Civil War. Iraqi military launched a big offensive against the city of Irbil in Iraqi Kurdistan. American fears that Saddam Hussein intended to launch a genocidal campaign against the Kurds.

The Operation Desert Fox was a four-day offensive led by the US and UK in 1998. This operation was aimed at “degrading” Iraq’s ability of manufacturing and using weapons of mass destruction, not “eliminating” it. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright explained the distinction: “I don't think we're pretending that we can get everything, so this is – I think – we are being very honest about what our ability is. We are lessening, degrading his ability to use this. The weapons of mass destruction are the threat of the future. I think the president explained very clearly to the American people that this is the threat of the 21st century. It’s hard to control, hard to get at, that we need to – you know – Saddam Hussein had the capability to – with the VX agents – to destroy every man, woman, and child on Earth. [...] What it means is that we know we can't get everything, but degrading is the right word”¹⁶.

In 2003, President Bush assembled a Coalition that has already begun military operations to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. This coalition included 49 members¹⁷: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Colombia, Costa Rica,

¹⁶ “Secretary Albright.” *PBS*. PBS, n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/july-dec98/albright_12-17.html>

¹⁷ “Coalition Members.” *Coalition Members*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html>>

Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Georgia, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Mongolia, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Palau, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Singapore, Slovakia, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Spain, Tonga, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States and Uzbekistan. Only six among these countries, besides the US, were involved in 2003 attacks: the United Kingdom, Australia, Poland, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark). In October 2 2003, the US admitted that no weapon of massive destruction was found¹⁸. After the invasion 33 countries contributed militarily after the invasion was complete. The war ended in 2011¹⁹.

2.2.2 Yemen

Military interventions in Yemen started under Bush Administration in 2002 with the first lethal drone strike. With the exception of this strike, all of them have been launched during the Obama administration, as shown in the chart below²⁰

The United States provided firepower, intelligence and other support to the government of Yemen as it carried out raids to strike at suspected hide-outs of Al Qaeda within its borders²¹. The map below shows the Yemen Air Strike Locations since 2002. Spiked in Yemen, particularly as the Obama administration began using drones to support the Yemeni government's battles against al Qaeda-linked militants in 2012.

¹⁸ "Colin Powell Regrets Iraq War Intelligence." - *Al Jazeera English*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2011/09/201109116916873488.html>>

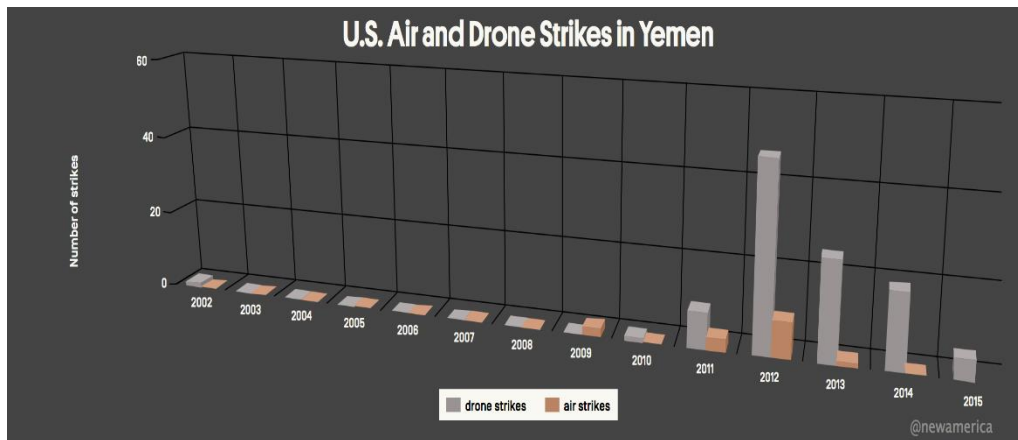
¹⁹ "Mauvaise Fin Pour Une Mauvaise Guerre." ("A bad end for a bad war") *Le Monde.fr*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2011/12/21/mauvaise-fin-pour-une-mauvaise-guerre_1621072_3232.html>

²⁰ "Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis." *Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/analysis2679.html?page=1>>

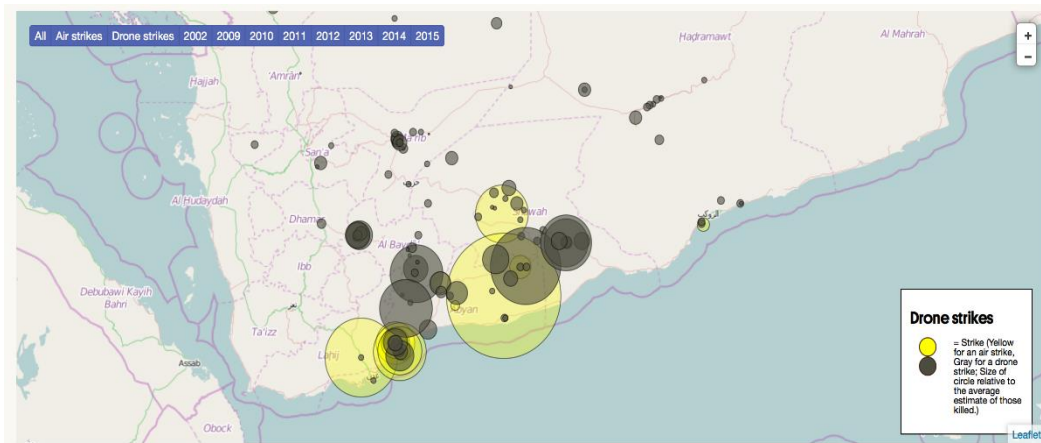
²¹ "Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis." *Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/analysis2679.html?page=1>>



Source:<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/key-findings.html>

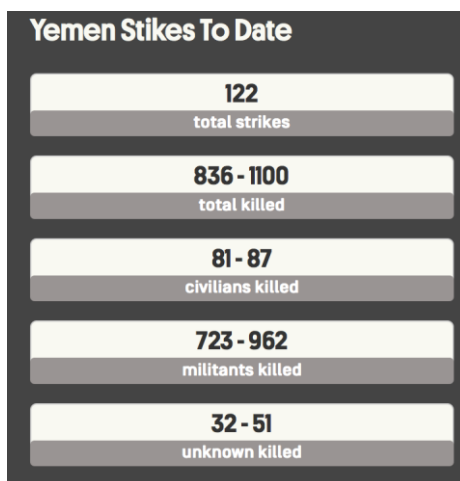
The American support was approved by President Obama in order to prevent Al Qaeda from leading terrorist attacks against American and other foreign targets inside its borders. On Jan 27, in Yemen, tens of thousands of people called for the ouster of President Ali Abdullah Saleh in protests across the country inspired by the popular revolt in Tunisia.²²



Source:<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/key-findings.html>

²² "Timeline Yemen." *Timeline Yemen*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.timelines.ws/countries/yemen.html>>

In 2013, civilian casualties are at their highest ever. This is largely due to a single drone strike that killed between 11 and 15 people as they headed to a wedding on December 12. Of the strikes with a discernable target, drones targeted al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula the most frequently, killing between 592 and 769 militants as of June 25, 2014. Ansar al-Sharia was the next most-targeted group in Yemen, with between 73 and 114 militants killed by drone strikes so far.²³



Source: <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/key-findings.html>, updated in April 28 2015

2.2.3 Palestine

According to an article in the French newspaper Le Monde published in October 10, 2009, a merchant ship was preparing to deliver 325 containers of war ammunitions from Greece to Ashdod, an Israeli port during the conflict between Israel and Palestine.²⁴ The Pentagon said the shipment was not linked to the conflict in the Gaza Strip. "This previously

²³ "Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis." *Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/analysis2679.html?page=1>>

²⁴ "Les Etats-Unis Démentent Vouloir Livrer Des Armes à Israël" ("The United States deny delivering weapons to Israel"). *Le Monde.fr*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2009/01/10/les-etats-unis-dementent-vouloir-livrer-des-armes-a-israel_1140129_3218.html>

scheduled shipment is routine and not in support of the current situation in Gaza."²⁵, Air Force Lt. Col. Patrick Ryder said.

But, under the Greek government protests, the US had to find a more discreet way to deliver the shipment. The Pentagon spokesman declared: "I think the Greek government had some issue with the off-loading of some of that shipment in their country, and so we are finding alternative means of getting that entire shipment to its proper destination in Israel. I don't think we've come to a final resolution on how or when that will take place (...) we are looking for an alternative means of getting them into Israel and to our -- to our warehouse, and looking for a safe means of doing so."²⁶

2.2.4 Libya

In March 2011 and during the war in Libya that opposed the Muammar Kaddafi regime and rebels, French President Nicolas Sarkozy asked the European Union to establish a no-fly zone. The request was rejected by 27 countries including Germany. But, under the pressure of Qatari King Abdallah who had scores to settle with Kaddafi²⁷, the Arab league came to support Sarkozy and asked the Security Council for a no-fly zone. Obama joined Sarkozy and Cameron. Thus, many NATO countries, including Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States, already contributing to the intervention, NATO agreed to assume command on March 27²⁸. The alliance's mission in Libya consisted of three separate tasks: policing the arms embargo, patrolling the no-fly zone and protecting civilians.

²⁵ "U.S. says arms shipment to Israel not linked to Gaza" Jan 10, 2009 BY STEFANO AMBROGI

²⁶ Geoff Morrell, « DoD News Briefing with Geoff Morrell from the Pentagon »], U.S. Department of Defense, January 13, 2009, <http://www.defense.gov/transcripts/transcript.aspx?transcriptid=4340>

²⁷ "Les Européens toujours réservés sur une option militaire", ("The Europeans still reserved towards the military option") 11-03-2011, Le Nouvel Observateur

²⁸ "NATO's Victory In Libya." *Foreign Affairs*. N.p., Feb. 2012. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/2012-02-02/natos-victory-libya>>

2.2.5 Syria

During Syrian civil war, Western countries went from a non-lethal aid to military support to the rebels opposed to Bashar Al Assad.

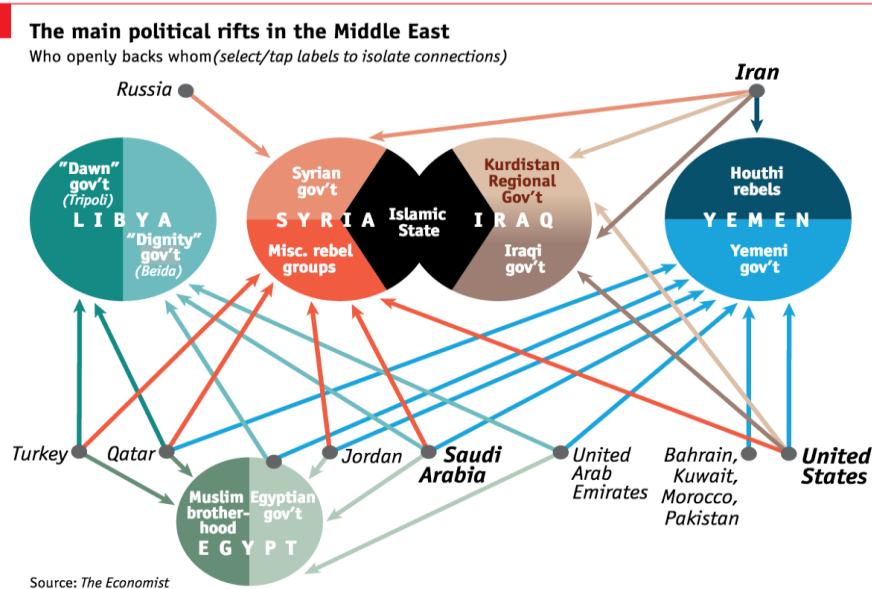
During a press conference in Bamako on 19 September 2013, François Hollande suggested that France was ready to supply weapons to rebels. “On delivering weapons we have always said that we want to control these supplies so that they do indeed go to the Free Syrian Army (...) because they represent the Syrian National Coalition that we recognise as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people and today they are caught between a hammer and an anvil,” Hollande said. “The hammer is the air strikes and actions of the Syrian regime and the anvil is radical Islam,” he said.

Back in 2012, The C.I.A. was said to Aid in Steering Arms to Syrian Opposition. C.I.A. officers, operating from Southern Turkey, helped allies decide which Syrian opposition fighters across the border will receive arms to fight the Syrian government. The weapons, including automatic rifles, rocket-propelled grenades, ammunition and some antitank weapons, are being funneled mostly across the Turkish border by intermediaries including Syria’s Muslim Brotherhood²⁹. In July 2012, the US government granted the Syrian Support Group, an organization that supports the Free Syrian Army, authority to provide financial and logistical support to the armed Syrian resistance.³⁰

²⁹Schmitt, Eric. “C.I.A. Said To Aid in Steering Arms to Syrian Opposition.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 2012. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/21/world/middleeast/cia-said-to-aid-in-steering-arms-to-syrian-rebels.html?_r=0>

³⁰ “US Authorizes Financial Support For The Free Syrian Army - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East.” *Al-Monitor*. N.p., 2012. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2012/al-monitor/us-authorizes-financial-support.html>>

2.3 Key players in the MENA



Source: *The Economist*³¹

2.3.1 Arab allies in the MENA

2.3.1.1 Saudi Arabia

Since World War II, Saudi Arabia and the United States have been a political ally in opposition to Communism and in support of stable oil prices.

Saudi Arabia is also a loyal customer in terms of weapons. On October 20, 2010, the U.S. State Department notified Congress of its intention to make the biggest arms sale in American history – an estimated \$60.5 billion purchase by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.³² In fact, the U.S. has a strong defense relationship with Saudi Arabia. The Congressional

³¹ "The Middle Eastern Mesh." *The Economist*. The Economist Newspaper, Mar. 2015. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/04/daily-chart-0>>

³² "Arms For the King and His Family: The U.S. Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia." *Jerusalem Center For Public Affairs*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://jcpa.org/article/arms-for-the-king-and-his-family-the-u-s-arms-sale-to-saudi-arabia/>>

Research Service has described the history of arms sales to the kingdom:

“The United States has long been Saudi Arabia’s leading arms supplier. From 1950 through 2006, Saudi Arabia purchased and received from the United States weapons, military equipment, and related services through Foreign Military Sales (FMS) worth over \$62.7 billion and Foreign Military Construction Services (FMCS) worth over \$17.1 billion (figures in historical dollars). These figures represent approximately 19 percent of all FMS deliveries and 85 percent of all FMCS deliveries made worldwide during this period. The largest single recent U.S. foreign military sale to Saudi Arabia [until now – JT] was a \$9 billion contract for 72 F-15S fighter aircraft. The contract was signed in May 1993, and delivery of the F-15S aircraft was completed in 1999.”³³

2.3.1.2 The United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates is considered as a strong ally to Western countries in the Gulf. The United States are central to the UAE’s defense policy. In 2004 the UAE and the United States signed a US\$6.4 billion contract for the delivery of 80 F-16E/F Desert Falcon combat aircraft to the UAE air force by 2007.

2.3.1.3 Lebanon

The United States has provided security assistance to Lebanon in various forms since the 1980s. From 2007 to 2011, the United States has provided more than \$700 million in security assistance to the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) and Internal Security Forces (ISF) to equip those forces to combat terrorism and secure Lebanon’s borders against weapons smuggling to Hezbollah and other armed groups. In 2005, after the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon prompted Syria to withdraw its occupation force and brought an anti-Syrian, pro-

³³ Christopher Blanchard. “Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations,” Congressional Research Service. Web. 14 June 2010. <<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/145596.pdf>>

Western government to power, the United States increased its assistance to Lebanon. After the 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah, the United States refocused its policy toward building state security forces to enable them to assert control over the entire territory of the country and implement U.N. Security Council resolutions³⁴.

2.3.2 Iran, a « terrorist country »

Foreign relations with Iran has changed during the two last decades³⁵.

The election of Mohammad Khatami in 1997 led to improved relations with most of the West, excluding Israel and the United States. The Khatami government (in power 1997–2005) stressed commercial and geopolitical relations with Western Europe and Japan.

In the early 2000s, attempts by the Khatami regime to find common ground with the United States did not achieve the desired normalization of bilateral relations. In fact, the Bush administration's inclusion of Iran as part of an "axis of evil" in 2002 brought relations to a new low in the post-1989 period.

Beginning in 2004, relations deteriorated further because U.S. officials believed that Iran intends to develop nuclear weapons. The Bush administration also expressed concern that Iran might be supporting insurgents against U.S. forces in Iraq and Palestinian groups opposed to the peace process in Israel.

In the early 2000s, relations with other regional Arab countries have varied from "correct" or relatively good (e.g., with Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates) to relatively strained (e.g., with Algeria and Egypt).

³⁴ U.S. Security Assistance to Lebanon Casey L. Addis Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs 19 January 2011. Congressional Research Service <<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R40485.pdf>>

³⁵ Library of Congress Country Profile: Iran, (COUNTRY PROFILE: IRAB), May 2008. <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Iran.pdf>>

Iran also has had relatively good relations with China, India, and Russia, particularly in the area of military cooperation. Relations with neighbors Pakistan and Turkey have been correct but not close.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Interventionists vs. non-interventionists

Terrorism has been a nightmare for both western and oriental societies for one decade. Since 2001, Western politicians in power decided to start the war against the « axis of evil ».

In an address to the nation on the evening of September 11, Bush stated "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them. » But his war is usually seen as a war against Islam since terrorists claim they commit attacks in the name of "Allah", the arabic word for "God".

"These events have divided the whole world into two sides. The side of believers and the side of infidels, may God keep you away from them. Every Muslim has to rush to make his religion victorious. The winds of faith have come. The winds of change have come to eradicate oppression from the island of Muhammad, peace be upon him", Osama Bin Laden status October 7, 2001³⁶.

3.1.1 Interventionists

The US government was in favor of all western military interventions in the MENA that

³⁶ "Text: Bin Laden's statement", Translation supplied by the Associated Press Sunday, 7 October 2001, The Guardian. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/07/afghanistan.terrorism15>>

were linked to terrorism, in the name of democracy, security and the principle of humanitarian intervention, especially in Iraq, Libya and Syria.

In an address to the nation on the evening of September 11, Bush stated his resolution of the issue by declaring that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them."

Under Obama's presidency, Republicans wanted to lead military interventions fast and radically in the MENA. That's what McCain expressed in an e-mail sent to our group of Seoul National University in March 12, 2015 when we asked him about the current US policy against ISIS.

McCain first expressed his position about Iraq and Syria:

"Iraq's stability and security has consistently deteriorated since President Obama made the decision to withdraw all of our troops without any residual presence of U.S. forces in 2011. The President's mishandling of Iraq for the past five years, and his consistent inaction on Syria, have now brought us to the edge of disaster: ISIS – a more ambitious, more violent, and more radical offshoot of Al-Qaeda – has taken over a large territory in Iraq and Syria and created the largest terrorist safe haven in history. ISIS's offensive is now reigniting sectarian conflict in Iraq and threatening to erase the gains that nearly 4,500 brave young Americans gave their lives to achieve – and that were largely secure when the President took office in January 2009.

In 2011, our senior military leaders and commanders on the ground believed that keeping a residual U.S. force in Iraq was critical to our national security interests. Even many senior Obama Administration officials, such as former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, agreed. A residual U.S. troop presence could have assisted Iraqi forces in their continued fight against Al Qaeda. It could have provided a platform for greater diplomatic engagement and intelligence cooperation with our Iraqi partners. And it could have made

Iranian leaders think twice about using Iraqi airspace to transit military assistance to Assad and his forces in Syria. Unfortunately we don't have the luxury of being able to alter history, but it's not too late to influence events.

On September 10, 2014, the President announced a new U.S. military strategy in response to the threat from ISIS. This includes conducting air strikes against ISIS positions in Iraq and Syria, providing more than 2000 U.S. military personnel to assist the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) and our Kurdish partners in combating this threat, and training and arming vetted, moderate Syrian opposition forces.

(...) more needs to be done. U.S. forces on the ground should be expanded to 10,000 troops to assist the Iraqis through intelligence, target acquisition and special forces roles. We should expand aid and military assistance to moderate Syrian rebels and to other coalition partners such as Jordan to help them fight back against ISIS. And we need to consider establishing safe zones or no-fly zones in Syria to protect civilians from airstrikes launched by the Syrian government.

(...) Assad's barbaric war on the Syrian people has created the conditions for ISIS to grow and gain strength for years, and this will continue as long as he remains in power.”

As for Iran, he added:

“Iran's malign influence presents a further impediment to strategic success against ISIS. Iran is arming and supporting the Assad regime and Shia militias in Iraq as it seeks to carve out spheres of influence in the Middle East. It is time for the Obama Administration to come to terms with this reality and ensure that Iran does not fill the power vacuums created by violence and instability in the region.”³⁷

³⁷Appendix 1 : E-mail sent in March 12, 2015

The Libyan war first strongly supported by French government. Bernard Henri Levy, most influential intellectual in France, known as BHL, supported the war on Libya in the name of humanitarian interventionism. He was credited with persuading French President Sarkozy to take the lead in the international intervention in Libya. In a rare appearance in London for Intelligence Squared, an organisation that stages debates around the world, he lectured on liberal interventionism³⁸. He drew three main conclusions from the intervention in Libya that summarizes his position:

The first conclusion is that the desire for Liberty is universal:

“Already in the 60s in the 70s there was a belief in a big part of the west and of the Intelligentsia, a belief according to which all the central and eastern parts of Europe was in the darkness forever and that the desire for freedom had been cut, eradicated from the mind of the Homo Sovieticus in 1999 the proof has been given to the word of liberty was like the frozen word of Rabelais (...). This happened in the Soviet Union and is still happening in the very minute we are speaking. And suddenly, to the surprise of all the observers, it happened to the Arab World. There was a sort of an unwritten law, a sort of unsaid theorem saying there was an Arab exception, that ideals of liberty which was bred by Europe, which had their nest and their origins in the West, were not made for this part of the planet. The relativists lost the game the universalists did win the party. The proof is given that there are some universal values (...). In the language of French philosophy, it is the Victory of Julien Benda against Charles Maurras. It is the victory of those who believe that mankind is one and that there are some wishes and therefore some rights which are valuable wherever. This happened in Libya and for all the sceptical (...) it was a great

³⁸ “Bernard-Henri Lévy On the Libyan Intervention and Universal Values.” *SoundCloud*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<https://soundcloud.com/intelligence2/bernard-henri-levy>>

surprise.

The second philosophical lesson is that there is a new wind of freedom all over the world

“If it is true that the ideals of democracy, free speech, right for a body, for a soul not to be tortured are on the wave of victory, it is not true that this should mean a sort of end of history. It is not true that we are facing, we are entering in a world where a sort of great song of freedom will be sung in the same tone by the same orchestra all over the world. I don’t believe in the end of history I believe that the wave of freedom which we saw devastating the dictatorship of Libya opened a new space of time if I dare say, a new sequence of time which will be occupied by new forms of political shocks, not the shocks some believed in the past, not the shock between the west and the rest, not the shock between the Western world and the world of Islam, but shocks inside the world of Islam which is the case in Libya (...), between a various ways of living the muslim faith and so on. There is today a real battle going on, a real political quarrel raging inside Islam. This world of Islam which was frozen by the dictatorships, the dictatorships being one after the other. (...) In the defreezing of that you have real clashes which are taken place and the end of which one can not predict. These second philosophical lesson is the entry in the world not of the non history as Fukuyama, Alexandre Kojève, Hegel said, but of real history. The return of history in this part of the world which was supposed to be a corps as a cadaver which was supposed to be a sort of frozen body.”

The third lesson of this Libyan affair is the victory of involvement against sovereignism:

“I think there is in the (...) West and especially in America, in UK and in France one debate which prevails on my point of view on the others, which is more important than being leftist or rightist (...) which is the debate between what we call in France (...) ‘le souverainisme et l’ingérence’. ‘Le souverainisme’ meaning that a man or woman is defined of course by his rights but these rights are themselves defined, shaped, patterned according

to the space, the borders around this space, the states which governs this space where the man or the woman happens to be born and to live. There is a theory which comes from a very far away in history which goes to Hegel which believes that the state -nation, nation as embodied in a state, is the last world of mankind and therefore of human rights. One has rights but they are defined in the frame, in the limits of a nation, of a state. They are defended by this state they are limited by it and so on. This is sovereignism. Rights have to do with borders. That is, everybody has rights but these rights are defined by this frame. On the other hand you have the partisans of "ing rence" in French, involvement or internationalism (...), those who believe that there are some rights which do not rely on, which do not depend of the belonging to a state, a nation, a part of the world, which transcend all that, and that humanity in itself is the guardian of these rights. And that for example when a state betrays its vocation, its duty to protect the rights of its citizens, there is a right, it is not an exception, (...) there is a right for the rest of humanity, expressed in a way which depends on circumstances, a right to intervene and to decree the illegitimacy of the state concerned. (...). The real debate is this one, those who believe that the task, that every people has a right, but it is a problem of their state. And the idea that America has something to say, has a message to deliver in some occasions to the rest of the world. In England it's probably the same and in France even more. Libya signs the victory of involvement against sovereignism. Libya signs the fact, and it is the first time in modern history, that the international community decided and acted in consequence, that she has a duty and the right in a country which has in principle a sovereign state, when this sovereignty is exerted in a way which is barbarous. It is a first time. We had many wars in the past, in the twentieth century, in the nineteenth century. There was war of conquest there were wars for empires, there were wars for interest (...) this world was waged in Libya and this is a real change, a real move a real revolution in the way of thinking of the West. It is the first time that the wish, the right and the duty of involvement prevails on the

resignation to sovereignism, prevails on the famous world of Goebbels who said in 1938: “Charbonnier est maître chez soi”. (...) The “Coleman is master at home”. He does what he wants. (...) So this is a real theoretical philosophical lesson which has to be drawn and can be drawn from this Libyan event.”

That is, according to the third lesson drawn by BHL, humanitarian intervention is based on the argument that sovereignty also comes with a responsibility to protect its citizens. Jean-Jacques Rousseau explains this aspect in *The Social Contract (Du contrat social ou Principes du droit politique)* : Citizens give their freedoms to the authority of the ruler in exchange for protection of their remaining rights.³⁹

3.1.2 Non interventionists

Non-intervention is a policy characterized by “the absence of interference by a state or states in the external affairs of another state without its consent, or in its internal affairs with or without its consent.”⁴⁰

In 1723, Robert Walpole, Britain's then-first Whig Prime Minister declared: "My politics are to keep free from all engagements as long as we possibly can."⁴¹ Walpole rejected the idea of intervening in European affairs in order to maintain a balance of power.

President Washington is a historical example of supporter of US non-interventionism. In his Farewell Address of 1796, he declared:

“The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. Europe

³⁹ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract*. Baltimore, MD.: Penguin Books, 1968. Print.

⁴⁰ Hodges, Henry G. *The Doctrine of Intervention*. Princeton: The Banner Press, 1915. Print.

⁴¹ Coxe, William. *Memoirs Of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole ... With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers, Never before Published. In Three Volumes. ... By William Coxe, ..* London: printed for T. Cadell, jun. and W. Davies, 1798. Print.

has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities”⁴²

The idea of non-intervention is also supported by Noam Chomsky. He is a prominent American linguist, philosopher, cognitive scientist, logician, political commentator. He has spent most of his career at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he is currently Professor Emeritus. He has been described as a prominent cultural figure, and was voted the "world's top public intellectual" in a 2005 poll⁴³. Chomsky criticizes the US support of Israel against the Palestinians.⁴⁴

“Another example, in the first days of the Intifada Israel immediately began using what are called in the press 'Israeli helicopters'. They're not Israeli helicopters, they're US helicopters with Israeli pilots that were used to attack civilian complexes, killing and wounding dozens of people. That was sort of reported, it wasn't a secret. That's in response to stone throwing, at most. The US did react to that officially. October 3rd 2000, the Clinton administration made the biggest deal in a decade to send new military helicopters to Israel, along with more parts for Apache Attack helicopters - the most advanced in the arsenal which had been sent in September. It's not that they didn't know what they were using them

⁴² Quinn, Adam. *US Foreign Policy in Context: National Ideology from the Founders to the Bush Doctrine*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009. Print.

⁴³ "Chomsky is voted world's top public intellectual, World news", 18 October 2005, The Guardian.<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/18/books.highereducation>>

⁴⁴ “Anti-Semitism, Zionism, And the Palestinians | Noam Chomsky | Variant 16.”*Anti-Semitism, Zionism, and the Palestinians | Noam Chomsky | Variant 16*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.variant.org.uk/16texts/chomsky.html>>

for, you could read that in the newspapers. They were using them to attack and murder civilians. But they needed more because a million bullets in the first few days isn't enough so we need to send them attack helicopters and missiles. When you hear of the atrocities in Gaza (July 22nd 2002, 14 civilians killed by a helicopter missile attack) that's thanks to the US government, and its allies who didn't raise a finger. How did the American press respond to this? They did report helicopters attacking civilians, but the deal made by the Clinton administration (the biggest in a decade for military helicopters) went literally without report."

According to Chomsky, the diplomatic and military support given by the US to Israel is far from leading to a "peace process", it blocks instead any concrete initiative in this way.

*"Peace process," Chomsky wrote, is about "whatever the United States happens to be doing, often blocking peace initiatives" (...). For those willing to confront the facts, however, it should "be understood as an impressive vindication of the rule of force in international affairs, at both policy and doctrinal levels: the former, by virtue of its operative significance, the latter, in the light of the broad acceptance of the rejectionist stance that Washington had maintained in virtual isolation for many years" (1997: 160–1). The results can only be ominous, he warned, with "much pain and suffering" ahead."*⁴⁵

According to Haaretz, Israel's oldest daily newspaper, "On the right, but not only there, Chomsky is seen as a deserter, a traitor and an enemy of the people"⁴⁶ « Declaring war on the intellect - Israel and Noam Chomsky », Haaretz, 18 mai 2010.

Michael Stohl⁴⁷ explains that terrorism is not only the exclusive province of insurgents,

⁴⁵ McGilvray, James A. *The Cambridge Companion to Chomsky*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Print.

⁴⁶ "Declaring War on the Intellect - Israel and Noam Chomsky." *Haaretz.com*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/declaring-war-on-the-intellect-israel-and-noam-chomsky-1.290903>>

⁴⁷ Stohl, Michael. *The Politics Of Terrorism*. New York: M. Dekker, 1988. Print.

dissidents, or anti-governmental forces. “The singular exception to this myth proposed by most liberal Western authors is the recognition that non democratic, totalitarian, fascist, or communist states practice terrorism or are only able to remain in power because of their utilization of terrorist practices. The implicit conclusion of these writers is that terrorism is not something practiced by the governments of liberal Western democracies”.

The problem with terrorism is that many books, articles can be biased by a Western approach, as Adekunle Oke states: “According to the Library of Congress, 1,677 books have been written on the subject of terrorism, from 1968-1993, in German, Spanish, Latin and English, excluding newspapers, journals and magazines. Out of these, only 22 books deal directly with state terrorism or state-sponsored terrorism, and only 3 books focused on the Third World per se. Furthermore, two-thirds of the literature carry such conspicuously biased titles such as: « Counter Attack: The West's Battle against the Terrorist » [...], / « Terrorism: How the West Can Win ». In essence, there is overwhelming evidence that these books were written from a Western perspective, a perspective which contends in general that terrorism is Third World violence directed against the West”⁴⁸

3.2 Justifying war

3.2.1 An Ethical War: Moral Justification

The counterterrorism strategy mainly led by the US come along with, or, rather, are justified by Western core values: ⁴⁹ Respect for Human Rights, Encouraging Responsive

⁴⁸ Oke, Adekunle M. *State Terrorism: an Analysis of Third World Perspectives*. 1995. Print.

⁴⁹ National Strategy for Counterterrorism 2011, June 2011.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf>

Governance, Respect for Privacy Rights, Civil Liberties, and Civil Rights, Balancing Security and Transparency, Upholding the Rule of Law. In the name of these values, the US cross borders and attack countries or groups inside countries in the Middle East.

The main goals behind US military interventions are explained in the 2011 National Strategy for Counterterrorism : “Protect the American People, Homeland, and American Interests, Disrupt, Degrade, Dismantle, and Defeat al-Qa‘ida and Its Affiliates and Adherents, Prevent Terrorist Development, Acquisition, and Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Eliminate Safehavens, Build Enduring Counterterrorism Partnerships and Capabilities, Degrade Links between al-Qa‘ida and its Affiliates and Adherents, Counter al-Qa‘ida Ideology and Its Resonance and Diminish the Specific Drivers of Violence that al-Qa‘ida Exploits, Deprive Terrorists of their Enabling Means”⁵⁰

The US got support in the counterterrorism plans from European politicians such as French President Nicolas Sarkozy. In his speech in September 19 2007, French President Nicolas Sarkozy, supportive of US counterterrorism plans said in a speech in memory of victims of terrorist attacks, : “Each time a French, an American, a Spanish or a Moroccan or any other person is dead or injured by a terrorist attack, it’s a part of our humanity that is hurt. And no matters the nationality of the victim, it’s before all a victim”⁵¹

Alain Juppé, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, said the world was experiencing “a wave of great revolutions that would change the course of history”, as people throughout North Africa and the Middle East were calling for “a breath of fresh air”, for freedom of expression and democracy. Such calls for democratic transition had echoed through

⁵⁰ National Strategy for Counterterrorism 2011, June 2011.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf >

⁵¹ Ceremony of victims of terrorism, The President’s speech, 19 September, 2007.

<<http://www.researchschool.org/intranets/discours-vict-terrorisme-19-09-07.pdf>>

Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco. Everyone had witnessed the events with great hope and he believed “this new Arab springtime is good news for all”. The changes required the international community not to “give lessons”, but to help the people of those countries build a new future.⁵²

3.2.2 Self-Defense

The US attacks groups and states in the MENA for self-defense or anticipated self-defense. This concept has seen a revival since Bush’s war on Terror. The greatest example has been the justification of war on Iraq, whom President Saddam Hussein was accused of preparing an attack on the West using weapons of mass-destruction. Brownlie Lian explains in *Principles of Public International Law*:

“The concept of anticipatory self-defense has seen a revival in the literature with the prosecution of the so-called War on Terror. The Bush administration denounced the « reactive posture » of the past, refusing to wait for enemies such as « rogue states and terrorists » to strike first and announcing its readiness to act to prevent threats from potential adversaries, even in the face of uncertainty as to the time and place of an attack”⁵³. Even with UN disapproval, Robert Delahunty and John Yoo from George W. Bush administration supported the need of a preventive war: *“Despite the Bush Administration’s successes against al Qaeda, we continue to live in a dangerous world. We are exposed to the risk that hostile states or terrorist groups with global reach might attack our civilian population or those of our allies using weapons of mass destruction. In such circumstances, it might seem natural for U.S. policymakers to consider preventive war as a possible tool*

⁵² “Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' Over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” *UN News Center*. UN, n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm>>

⁵³ Brownlie, Ian. *Principles Of Public International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

for countering such threats.”⁵⁴

Hillary Clinton argued that democratizing the Middle East is in their interest. Military interventions are good because they lead to democracy, and democratic countries fight less. That’s the logic that Hillary explained at Democracy Award Dinner in 2011:

“It will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region and to support transitions to democracy.” We believe that real democratic change in the Middle East and North Africa is in the national interest of the United States. And here’s why. The truth is that the greatest single source of instability in today’s Middle East is not the demand for change. It is the refusal to change. That is certainly true in Syria, where a crackdown on small, peaceful protests drove thousands into the streets and thousands more over the borders. It is true in Yemen, where President Saleh has reneged repeatedly on his promises to transition to democracy and suppressed his people’s rights and freedoms...because democracies make for stronger and stabler partners. They trade more, innovate more, and fight less. They help divided societies to air and hopefully resolve their differences. They hold inept leaders accountable at the polls. They channel people’s energies away from extremism and toward political and civic engagement. Now, democracies do not always agree with us, and in the Middle East and North Africa they may disagree strongly with some of our policies. But at the end of the day, it is no coincidence that our closest allies—from Britain to South Korea—are democracies....Our choices also reflect other interests in the region with a real impact on Americans’ lives—including our fight against al-Qaida, defense of our allies, and a secure supply of energy. Over time, a more democratic Middle East and North Africa can provide a more

⁵⁴ “The “Bush Doctrine”: Can Preventive War be Justified”, Robert J. Delahunty & John Yoo, 1 January 2009, <<http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1774&context=facpubs>>

sustainable basis for addressing all three of those challenges”⁵⁵

3.2.3 Media Support

“In Democracy, politics is the art of making people believe that they govern”, Louis Latzarus (French Politician, 1878-1942).

Military interventions in the MENA were highly supported by conservative Media. After the Sept. 11 attacks, Fox News Channel covered the fighting in Afghanistan with heavy patriotism, referring to "our troops" who were fighting "terror goons." Fox jumped to first in the cable news ratings in January 2002. A correspondent in Iraq referred to war protesters as "the great unwashed."

After the first statue of Saddam Hussein fell in Baghdad, Neal Cavuto, an anchor, delivered a message to those "who opposed the liberation of Iraq": "You were sickening then, you are sickening now." Another Fox anchor, John Gibson, said he hoped Iraq's reconstruction would not be left to "the dopey old U.N."⁵⁶.

A 2004 poll⁵⁷ showed that a majority of Americans continued to believe that Iraq was giving substantial support to al Qaeda, while nearly half continue to believe that evidence of such support has been found. A majority of Americans did not have the perception that

⁵⁵“Keynote Address At the National Democratic Institute's 2011 Democracy Awards Dinner.” *U.S. Department of State*. U.S. Department of State, Jul. 2011. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/11/176750.htm>>

⁵⁶ Rutenberg, Jim. “Cable's War Coverage Suggests a New 'Fox Effect' On Television Journalism.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 2003. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/us/nation-war-media-cable-s-war-coverage-suggests-new-fox-effect-television.html>>

⁵⁷ The Press and Public Misperceptions About the Iraq War, A study looks at whether the press failed in its reporting about the war, June 15, 2004, Steven Kull
<http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/IraqMedia_Oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf>

most experts were saying Iraq did not have WMD or was not providing support to al Qaeda. Most Americans were unaware that world public opinion is critical of the US war with Iraq. Since the invasion of Iraq began in March, official voices have dominated U.S. network newscasts, while opponents of the war have been notably underrepresented, according to a study by FAIR. Starting the day after the bombing of Iraq began on March 19, the three-week study (3/20/03-4/9/03) looked at 1,617 on-camera sources appearing in stories about Iraq on the evening newscasts of six television networks and news channels. The news programs studied were ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, CNN's Wolf Blitzer Reports, Fox's Special Report with Brit Hume, and PBS's NewsHour With Jim Lehrer⁵⁸. Nearly two thirds of all sources, 64 percent, were pro-war, while 71 percent of U.S. guests favored the war. Anti-war voices were 10 percent of all sources, but just 6 percent of non-Iraqi sources and 3 percent of U.S. sources. Thus viewers were more than six times as likely to see a pro-war source as one who was anti-war; with U.S. guests alone, the ratio increases to 25 to 1.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Questions

US-led interventions in the MENA are backed up by strong arguments. Still, many prominent scholars are reluctant to any intervention in the MENA. So, what is problem with the pro interventionist arguments? What makes them weak? And what is the impact of these discrepancies on the public opinion on both sides: US and MENA people?

More specifically, to what extent do the people in the MENA "believe" the justifications

⁵⁸ "Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent." *FAIR*. N.p., Jan. 2003. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://fair.org/extra-online-articles/amplifying-officials-squelching-dissent/>>

behind US military?

4.2 Significance of the research

MENA people see US counterterrorism interventions in their land as new forms of imperialism and terrorism. In my thesis I use the “rebuttal debate” method to show to what extent the people in the MENA countries simply don’t take for granted US justifications related to Democracy, Justice and Security.

4.3 Data Collection

The research methodology adopted in this study is qualitative and quantitative and depends on:

1. Primary Sources:

I analyzed documents and official reports issued by states and international institutions (World Bank, IMF, the United Nations, the US National Security, and Amnesty International). I also mainly studied public opinion polls related to US foreign policy and interventions in the MENA.

2. Secondary Sources:

I analyzed research papers produced by different research centers, books that tackle the issue of terrorism and military interventions and journal articles from main American, European and Middle Eastern main newspapers. I studied scrupulously the e-mail sent to my group at Seoul National University from McCain on US position towards ISIS case, political speeches (Kaddafi, H. Clinton) and conferences’ scripts (Chomsky, Bernard Henry-Lévy).

5 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

5.1 Discrepancies in the discourse

5.1.1 Lack in Legal and Moral basis in justifying Military interventions in the Middle East against terrorist groups and States

5.1.1.1 Non-intervention: the result of a historical struggle

The current international law is based on the axiom of State Sovereignty. In the logic of this axiom, individuals across countries don't have the same rights. It's inconsistent with the existence of an "International police".

Article 2 (7) of the United Nations states that "the United Nations has no authority to intervene in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, while this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the Charter"⁵⁹.

It's a policy characterized by "the absence of interference by a state or states in the external affairs of another state without its consent, or in its internal affairs with or without its consent."⁶⁰

In 1723, Robert Walpole, Britain's then-first Whig Prime Minister declared: "My politics are to keep free from all engagements as long as we possibly can." Walpole rejected the idea of intervening in European affairs in order to maintain a balance of power.

The principle of non-intervention is the result of a historical struggle won by the weakest

⁵⁹ <http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/principles.shtml#re15>

⁶⁰ [The doctrine of intervention \(1915\)](#) by Henry G. Hodges.

states. All along the 19th century, they underwent imperialism and colonialism that aimed also at defending the values of “Civilization”.

But the humanitarian argument has been usually used to justify the military actions of Western states, against the Ottoman Empire, in Africa or in the Far-East. The Charter of the United States didn’t eliminate this practice but, at least it gave the possibility to attacked countries to invoke the Law.

5.1.1.2 The right to intervene: an abusive doctrine

The expression of the “right of interference” or the “ duty to intervene” is a confusing concept. It appeared in the late 1980s in the writings of Mario Bettati, professor of public International Law in the University of Paris II, and Bernard Kouchner, French politician, one of the founding fathers of “Médecins sans frontières”, (“Doctors without borders”). They wanted to oppose to the “archaic vision of State Sovereignty, sacralized to protect slaughters”⁶¹.

In case of massive violation, political, diplomatic, economic or financial sanctions can be applied, for instance an embargo on a country as it happened against USSR when it invaded Afghanistan.

Besides, the Security Council can describe a massive violation of human rights as a threat to “international peace and security” and allow a military intervention, as stated in article 42 of the Charter of the United Nations:

⁶¹ “Les ambiguïtés du droit d’ingérence humanitaire”, (“The ambiguities of humanitarian intervention”), Olivier Corten, Senior lecturer, Center of International Law and Sociology Applied to International Law, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/6103~v~Les_ambiguites_du_droit_d_ingeance_humanaire.pdf>

“Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.”

The Security Council has done it many times. In fact, it's during the intervention of many Western countries in the Iraqi Kurdistan, in April 1991, that the “right to interfere” rose as a real principle. The Security Council, this time as in all the other cases, invoked the “threat” argument. If a country wanted to interfere in another country invoking the right to intervene and circumventing a UN decision, then it would be a sole judge deciding what is good for humanity: law would be entirely subject to the force. In these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that this doctrine, which may seem attractive in theory, has led to and still leads to many abuses in practice.

5.1.1.3 Illegal interventions

In Iraq, Bush's administration didn't respect UN decision and used the “anticipatory self-defense” argument to justify the attack in 2003.

“Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and

security”⁶². Let’s take the Libyan case and see how military intervention in 2011, approved by the United Nations, was completely illegal.

The article 2§4 in the charter of the United States states that:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

If the use of force compromises national integrity, if it’s against political independence or when it is inconsistent with United Nations goals, then it should be forbidden by Charter of the United Nations.

US interventions there were aimed at protecting one population from another by weakening the government in power. Western countries did interfered in internal politics, this was explicitly written in the Resolution 1973:

“Stresses the need to intensify efforts to find a solution to the crisis which responds to the legitimate demands of the Libyan people and notes the decisions of the secretary-general to send his special envoy to Libya and of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union to send its ad hoc High-Level Committee to Libya with the aim of facilitating dialogue to lead to the political reforms necessary to find a peaceful and sustainable solution.”⁶³

This indicates that a final settlement to the crisis in Libya must be political.

In another paragraph, the Resolution 1973 states “Authorises member states that have

⁶² The Charter of the United Nations <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml>

⁶³ “Libya UN Resolution 1973: Text Analysed - BBC News.” *BBC News*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12782972>>

notified the secretary-general, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, and acting in co-operation with the secretary-general, to take all necessary measures, notwithstanding paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011), to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi (...). So, it "authorises member states to take all necessary means" to protect civilians. It specifically mentions the city of Benghazi, the pro-Gaddafi forces objective, and the centre of gravity of the rebel resistance⁶⁴. Therefore, it's hard to say that the military intervention in Libya didn't compromise Libyan political independence, making it illegal according to the Charter of the United Nations.

5.1.2 False and arbitrary accusations

5.1.2.1 Grammar: "the first victim of war"

Terry Jones has been writing columns targeting the Anglo-American response to September 11. His focused on the messianic vernacular of Bush and Blair and the semantics of the war on terror. In 2004, he writes *Terry Jones's War on the War on Terror*⁶⁵ where he explains that grammar has been the "first victim of war". He focuses on of the term "cowardice" that Colin Powell, who was secretary of state from 2002 to 2005, used to describe France and Germany position that didn't want to go on war. In his speech said France and Germany "are afraid of upholding their responsibility to impose the will of the international community".

Powell gave an elaborate description of Iraq's weapons programme in the run-up to the war, saying "ambition and hatred" were enough to bring Iraq and al-Qaeda together and build

⁶⁴ "Libya UN Resolution 1973: Text Analysed - BBC News." *BBC News*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12782972>>

⁶⁵ Jones, Terry. *Terry Jones's War on the War on Terror*. S.l.: Thunder's Mouth, 2004. Print.

more sophisticated bombs.

“Perhaps the worst impact is on our vocabulary. ‘Cowardice’, according to Colin Powell, is the refusal to injure thousands of innocent civilians living in Baghdad in order to promote US oil interests in the Middle East. The corollary is that ‘bravery’ must be the ability to order the deaths of 100,000 Iraqis without wincing or bringing up your Caesar salad.”

Terry Jones claims that the term “cowardice” is totally inappropriate. Dropping bombs from a safe height on an already hard-pressed people, whose infrastructure is in chaos from years of sanctions and who live under an oppressive regime, isn’t a ‘war’. It’s a turkey shoot(...). But then the violence being done to the English language is probably the price we have to pay for cheap petrol.”

In the United Kingdom, a traditional ally of the US which backed the military campaign, Tony Blair, who was prime minister at the time of the invasion, said Iraq had the capacity to deploy weapons of mass destruction in 45 minutes.

Ten years after the 9/11 attacks, Powell told Al Jazeera that the information was a "blot on my record". "It turned out, as we discovered later, that a lot of sources that had been attested to by the intelligence community were wrong," Powell said in Washington, DC⁶⁶

As for Tony Blair, he has since been criticised for allegedly exaggerating that claim and for presenting intelligence that overstated the case for going to war.

5.1.2.2 Iran: accused of “Radical Nationalism”, “Secular Nationalism” and “Destabilization”

In a conference held in June 2010, Noam Chomsky explains the arbitrary accusations against Iran by showing the difference between Nationalism and Terrorism⁶⁷:

⁶⁶“Colin Powell Regrets Iraq War Intelligence.” - *Al Jazeera English*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2011/09/20119116916873488.html>>

⁶⁷“ZCommunications » U.S. Savage Imperialism.” *ZCommunications*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.
<<https://zcomm.org/zmagazine/u-s-savage-imperialism-by-noam-chomsky/>>

“With regard to the Middle East, they said, we must maintain our intervention forces, most of them aimed at the Middle East. (...). The problem in the Middle East is and has been what's called radical nationalism (...) Radical just means independent. It's a term that means "doesn't follow orders." The radical nationalism can be of any kind.

In 1953, the Iranian threat was secular nationalism. After 1978, it's religious nationalism. In 1953, it was taken care of by overthrowing the parliamentary regime and installing a dictator who was highly praised. Since the overthrow of the U.S.-imposed tyrant in 1979, Iran has been constantly under U.S. attack—without a stop.

Chomsky explains that first, Carter tried to reverse the overthrow of the Shah immediately by trying to instigate a military coup. That didn't work. The U.S. turned for support to Saddam Hussein in his invasion of Iran—which was no small affair. Hundreds of thousands of Iranians were slaughtered. The people who are now running the country are veterans of that war.

He asks what exactly is the threat of Iran? Congress by the DOD and US intelligence report to Congress every year on the global security situation. In a section on Iran, they say that whatever the Iranian threat is, it's not a military threat. Iranian military spending is quite low, even by regional standards, and as compared with the U.S., it's invisible. Nevertheless, they say, Iran's a major threat because it's attempting to expand its influence in neighboring countries. It's called destabilization.

“When the U.S. invades another country, it's to bring about stability—a technical term in the international relations literature that means obedience to U.S. orders. So when we invade Iraq and Afghanistan, that's to create stability. If the Iranians try to extend their influence, at least to neighboring countries, that's destabilizing”.

5.1.2.3 Palestine: Resistance vs. Terrorism

Hamas became a serious threat—a serious terrorist organization—in January 2006 when Palestinians committed a “really serious crime”, as Chomsky states ironically. That was the date of the first free election in any country in the Arab world and the Palestinians voted the wrong way. There'd been plenty of punishment of the Palestinians before the election, but it escalated afterwards. All of that's called defense against terrorism. Then, the U.S. and Israel tried to carry out a military coup to overthrow the elected government. They were beaten back and Hamas took control. After that, Hamas became one of the world's leading terrorist forces.

In “Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World”⁶⁸, Chomsky explains that when Israel bombs Palestinian refugee camps killing many civilians - often without even a pretense of "reprisal", this is not "terrorism"; in fact, the rare voices of protest are thunderously condemned by loyal party liners for their "anti-Semitism" and "double standard".

5.1.3 The United States of Terror

5.1.3.1 Interventions created chaos in the MENA, amplifying terrorism threat

The US created chaos in Iraq “The US military presence in the Middle East and our support over the years for dictatorship and Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Kuwait, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates leads to the perception that “we control the Muslim world’s oil production” and impose undemocratic, faithless governments on the residents of those countries....Rage at American actions in the Middle East has intensified and spread through the Muslim world as a result of the American invasion and occupation of Iraq.

⁶⁸ Chomsky, Noam. *Pirates And Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World*. Print.

Before Iraq only small number of Muslims supported al-Qaeda. Many were skeptical of the organization's claim that the United States was controlling Muslim countries in order to take their oil supplies at below market prices"⁶⁹.

In Libya there are lots of different armed groups - up to 1,700 - with many different goals. But money and power are the common denominators. They are also ideologically divided - some of them are Islamists, others are secessionists and yet others are liberals. The militias are split along regional, ethnic and local lines, making it a combustible mix. Some fear Libya could descend into civil war.

Today people are fleeing from the chaotic situation Syria. *"The drama in Syria continues. There are 3.9 million refugees in the Syria's neighbouring countries. Lebanon is exsanguine, refugees representing one quarter of its population"*, Philippe Leclerc reminds, representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees, on BFMTV⁷⁰.

In fact, since the death of Muammar Kaddafi, in 2011, armed militias have been making the law in the country. "There is no more state in Libya", Pierre Henry said, director of the association France Terre d'Asile. "When the international community intervened four years ago to bomb Libya and remove the dictator, the structure of a State has also been destroyed".

⁶⁹ Pearson, Monte. *Perils Of Empire: the Roman Republic and the American Republic*. New York: Algora Pub., 2008. Print.

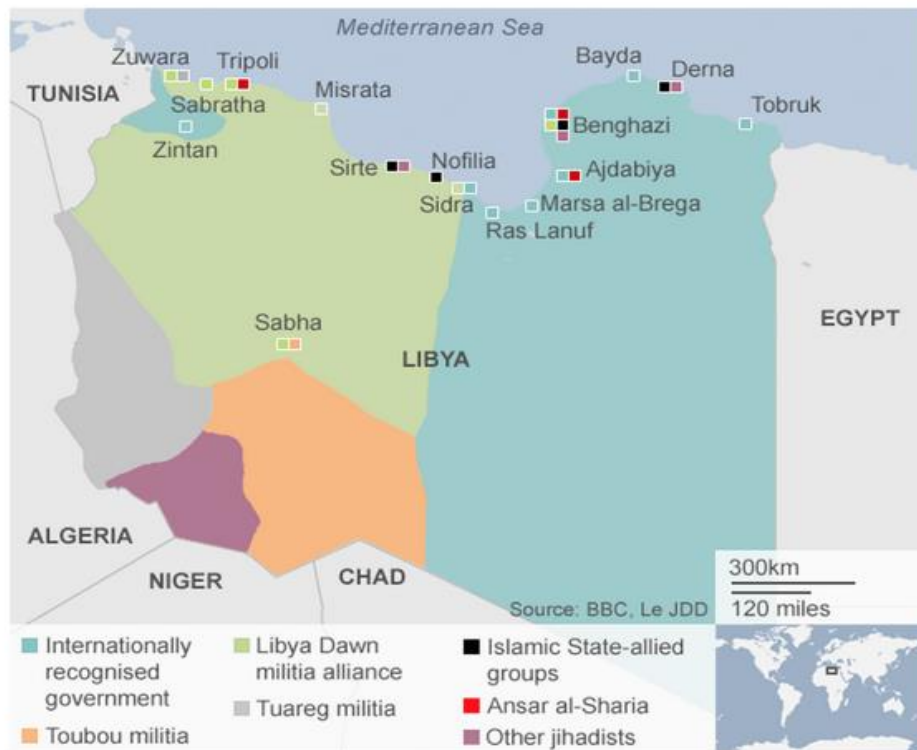
⁷⁰*Naufraiges en Méditerranée: d'où viennent les migrants?* ("Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea: Where are the migrants coming from?") N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.bfmtv.com/international/naufraiges-en-mediterranee-d-ou-viennent-les-migrants-879162.html>>



Source: <http://www.bfmtv.com/international/naufrages-en-mediterranee-d-ou-viennent-les-migrants-879162.html>

The Map below from BBC⁷¹ shows the situation in Libya today after the NATO-led coalition attack:

Libya's rival power bases



In an audio message broadcast on Libyan state TV, Kaddafi listed a number of tribes and called on them to come and defend Tripoli.

“How can you let Tripoli, which was beautiful and safe, how can you allow for it to be destroyed and set alight? This should not happen. This must not happen”⁷².

⁷¹ “Islamic State Gains Libya Foothold - BBC News.” *BBC News*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31518698>>

⁷² “Libya, Syria and Middle East unrest”, 21 August 2011, *The Guardian*, Peter Walker and Beatrice Woolf,

<<http://www.theguardian.com/global/middle-east-live/2011/aug/21/libya-syria-israel-middle-east-unrest>>

5.1.3.2 US Imperialism

The US was highly criticized by Jean-Michel Lacroix: *“We can’t forget that if the US condemned [after 9/11] State Terrorism, they had supported it before in Indonesia, Cambodia, Iran and South Africa”*⁷³.

*“St. Augustine tells the story of a pirate captured by Alexander the Great. « How dare you molest the sea? » asked Alexander. « How dare you molest the whole world? » the pirate replied. Because I do it with a little ship only, I am called a thief; you, doing it with a great navy, are called an emperor. » The pirate’s answer was « elegant and excellent, » St. Augustine relates”*⁷⁴

Chomsky refers to the pirate’s maxim to explain the recently evolved concept of "international terrorism. He defines States Terrorism as “terrorism practised by states (or governments) and their agents and allies”⁷⁵ He often argues that America's intervention in foreign nations — including secret aid the U.S. gave to the Contras in Nicaragua— fits any standard description of terrorism.⁷⁶

“Standards for the emperor and his court are unique in two closely related respects. First, their terrorist acts are excluded from the canon; second, while terrorist attacks against them are regarded with extreme seriousness, even requiring violence in "self-defense against future attack" (...), comparable or more serious terrorist attacks against others do not merit retaliation or preemptive action, and if undertaken would elicit fury and a fearsome response.”

⁷³ Lacroix Jean-Michel, *Histoire des États-Unis*, (“The History of the United States”) PUF, coll. « Quadrige », 2006, p. 533.

⁷⁴ Chomsky, Noam. *Pirates And Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World*. Print.

⁷⁵ Chomsky, Noam (April 2002). "What Anthropologists Should Know about the Concept of Terrorism". *Anthropology Today*. Print

⁷⁶ “The New War Against Terror, By Noam Chomsky (Talk Delivered at The Technology & Culture Forum at MIT).” *The New War Against Terror*, by Noam Chomsky (Talk delivered at The Technology & Culture Forum at MIT). N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.chomsky.info/talks/20011018.htm>>

Chomsky supposes if a seaborne Libyan force were to attack three American ships in the Israeli port of Haifa, sinking one of them and damaging the others, using East German-made missiles. There is no need to speculate on the reaction. Turning to the real world, on June 5, 1986, "a seaborne South African force attacked three Russian ships in the southern Angolan harbour of Namibe, sinking one of them," using "Israeli-made Scorpion [Gabriel] missiles. (...) In the real world, the USSR did not respond, and the events were considered so insignificant that they were barely mentioned in the U.S. press.

5.1.3.3 "Gulag Archipelago": Black sites

An article in The *Washington Post* published in november 2005⁷⁷ revealed to the world public opinion the existence of an international network of secret prisons, managed by the CIA. "The CIA has been hiding and interrogating some of its most important al Qaeda captives at a Soviet-era compound in Eastern Europe".

The location are known to only a handful of officials in the United States and, usually, only to the president and a few top intelligence officers in each host country. They were referred to as "black sites" in classified White House, CIA, Justice Department and congressional documents.

Amnesty International released a report⁷⁸ where it denounced the existence of these "black sites" that violates human rights. "Incommunicado and secret detention are prohibited under international human rights standards, and are human rights violation that also facilitate other violations such as torture or ill-treatment." Three "disappeared" men were

⁷⁷ "CIA Holds Terror Suspects In Secret Prisons." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, Feb. 2005. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/ar2005110101644.html>>

⁷⁸ United States of America/Yemen, Secret Detention in CIA "Black Sites", (AI Index: AMR 51/177/2005 issued by Amnesty International in November 2005.

kept in at least four different secret facilities, which were likely to have been in different countries. There have been persistent reports that the USA operates secret detention centres in Afghanistan, Iraq, Jordan, Pakistan, Qatar, Thailand, Uzbekistan and other locations in Eastern Europe, as well as on the British Indian Ocean territory of Diego Garcia.

5.1.3.4 Civilians killed

In 2003, The Guardian reported that between 7,000 and 9,000 Iraqi civilians were dead. “It was said that war would liberate Iraqis from suffering; but there have already been 1,500 additional violent deaths registered in the Baghdad city morgue alone”.⁷⁹

Based upon the averages within the ranges provided by the New America Foundation, the *Long War Journal*, and the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, there have been an estimated 522 U.S. targeted killings in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia since 9/11, which have killed 3,852 people, 476 (or 12 percent) of whom were civilians.”⁸⁰

But the CIA Director John Brennan explained that “We, the U.S. government, the U.S. military, are very, very careful about taking action that’s going to have collateral civilian impact. A lot of these stories that you hear about — in terms of ‘Oh my god, there are hundreds of civilians killed,’ whatever — a lot of that is propaganda that is put out by those elements that are very much opposed to the U.S. coming in and helping.”⁸¹

⁷⁹ “The seeds of Iraq's future terror, 28 October 2003, The Guardian.

<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/oct/28/iraq.politics>>

⁸⁰ “The United States Does Not Know Who It's Killing.” *Foreign Policy The United States Does Not Know Who Its Killing Comments*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/23/the-united-states-does-not-know-who-its-killing-drone-strike-deaths-pakistan/>>

⁸¹ “A Conversation With CIA Director John Brennan.” *forum.iop.harvard.edu*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://forum.iop.harvard.edu/content/conversation-cia-director-john-brennan>>

In U.S. counterterrorism operations, eight U.S. citizens are believed to have been killed, and only one of them was specifically, knowingly targeted: Anwar al-Awlaki. “The United States simply does not know who it is killing (...). Except for Abdulrahman al-Awlaki, the 16-year-old son of Anwar al-Awlaki, the other six unintended victims were characterized by U.S. officials — either before or after their deaths — as leaders or members of al Qaeda or al Qaeda-affiliated groups.”⁸²

Americans Killed in U.S. Counterterrorism Operations:

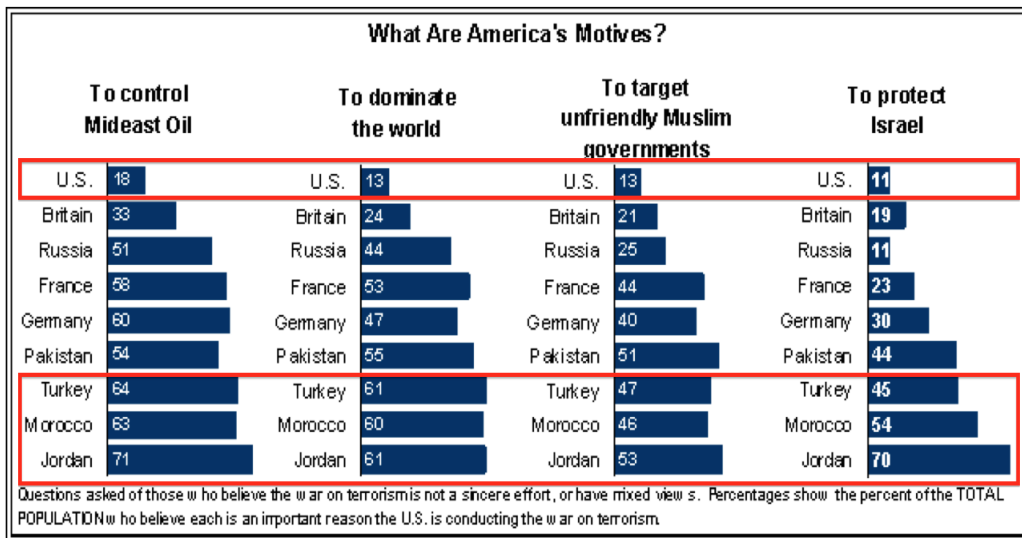
| Name | Date Killed | Location | Knowingly Targeted |
|----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Ahmed Hijazi (aka Kamal Derwish) | 11/03/2002 | Yemen | No |
| Anwar al-Awlaki | 9/30/2011 | Yemen | Yes |
| Samir Khan | 9/30/2011 | Yemen | No |
| Abdulrahman al-Awlaki | 10/14/2011 | Yemen | No |
| Jude Kenan Mohammed | 11/16/2011 | Af-Pak Border | No |
| Warren Weinstein | January 2015 | Af-Pak Border | No |
| Ahmed Farouq | January 2015 | Af-Pak Border | No |
| Adam Gadahn | January 2015 | Af-Pak Border | No |

Sources: The Washington Post, White House, Justice Department, Office of the Attorney General

⁸² “The United States Does Not Know Who It's Killing.” *Foreign Policy The United States Does Not Know Who Its Killing Comments*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.

5.2 The impact of the discrepancies: Public opinions on both sides

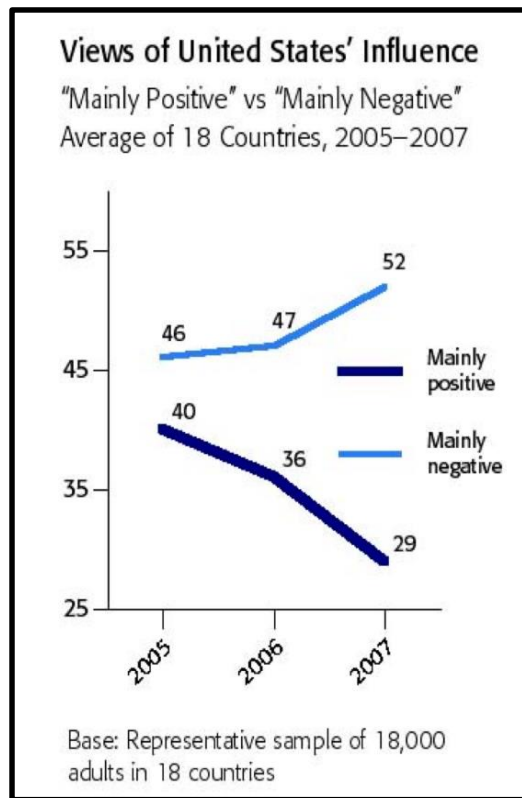
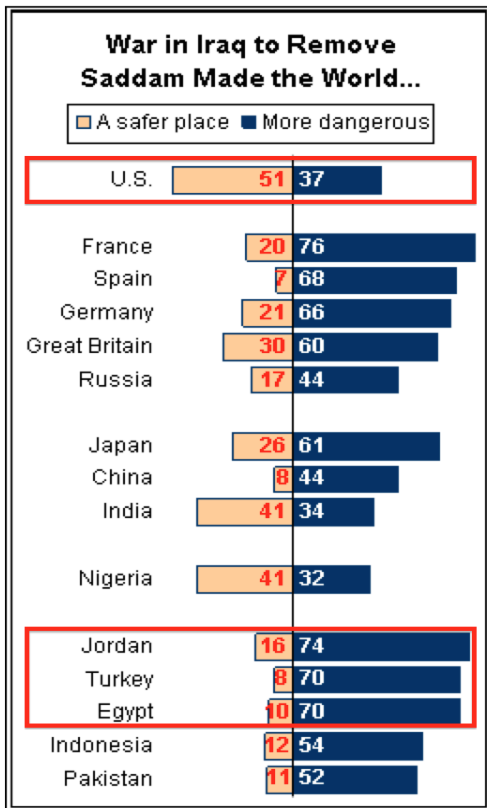
Many scholars, researchers and columnists criticized US interventions in the Middle East by showing the discrepancies in the discourse supporting interventionism in the region. What does the public opinion in both sides think?



In a 2004 Pew poll⁸³, majorities or pluralities in seven of the nine countries surveyed said the U.S.-led war on terrorism was not really a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism. This was true not only in Muslim countries such as Morocco and Turkey, but in France and Germany as well. The true purpose of the war on terrorism, according to these skeptics, is American control of Middle East oil and U.S. domination of the world.

⁸³ "America's Image In the World: Findings from the Pew Global Attitudes Project." *Pew Research Centers Global Attitudes Project* RSS. N.p., 2007. Web. 4 Jun. 2015.

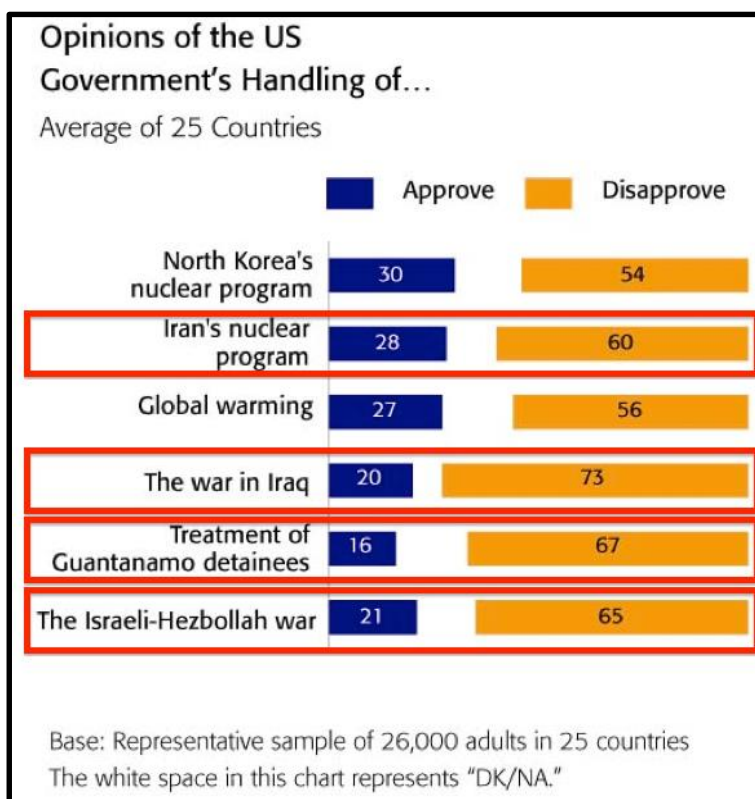
<<http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/03/14/americas-image-in-the-world-findings-from-the-pew-global-attitudes-project/>>



In 2007 the global view of the United States' role in world affairs has significantly deteriorated since 2005 according to a BBC World Service poll⁸⁴ of more than 26,000 people across 25 different countries.

⁸⁴ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>; In total 26,381 citizens in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, South Korea, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and the United States were interviewed between 3 November 2006 and 9 January 2007. Polling was conducted for the BBC World Service by the international polling firm GlobeScan and its research partners in each country. In 10 of the 25 countries, the sample was limited to major urban areas. The margin of error per 3 country ranges from +/-2.5 to 4 percent. For more details, please see the Methodology section or visit www.globescan.com or www.pipa.org.

The poll shows that in the 18 countries that were previously polled, the average percentage saying that the United States is having a mainly positive influence in the world has dropped seven points from a year ago--from 36 percent to 29 percent— after having already dropped four points the year before.

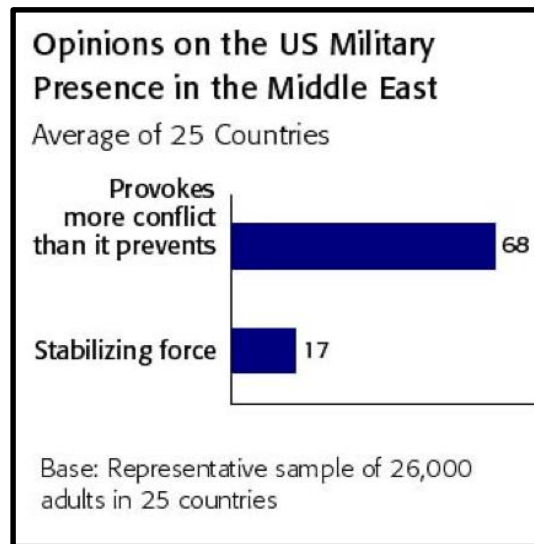


Across all 25 countries polled, one citizen in two (49%) now says the US is playing a mainly negative role in the world. Over two-thirds (68%) believe the US military presence in the Middle East provokes more conflict than it prevents and only 17 percent believes US troops there are a stabilizing force.

The US military presence in the Middle East is exceedingly unpopular. In 23 of 25 countries the most common view is that it “provokes more conflict than it prevents.” While in only one country (Nigeria) is the most common view that the US presence is stabilizing.

5.2.1 American Public opinion

The same poll⁸⁵ shows that American public has serious doubts about US foreign policy in 2007. Majorities disapprove of how the US is handling the war in Iraq (57%), while pluralities disapprove of US treatment of detainees in Guantanamo and other prisons (50%) and its handling of Iran's nuclear program (50%). Views are divided on US handling of the war in Lebanon. For comparison, the one area that receives plurality endorsement is the US handling of North Korea's nuclear weapons program (50%). A majority of 53 percent of Americans say that the US military presence in the Middle East "provokes more conflict than it prevents," with just 33 percent saying that it is a stabilizing force.



According to a PIPA-Knowledge Networks poll⁸⁶ in 2013, a majority of Americans (55%) believe that the Bush administration went to war on the basis of incorrect assumptions. An overwhelming 87% said that, before the war, the Bush administration portrayed Iraq as an

⁸⁵ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

⁸⁶ THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES <<http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/IraqReeval%20Nov03/IraqReeval%20Nov03%20pr.pdf>>

imminent threat, while a majority (58%) believes that the administration did not have evidence for this and only 42% believe that it was the case. A majority believes that the US went to war precipitously, with 61% saying that the US should have taken more time to find out if Iraq had weapons of mass destruction and 59% saying it should have taken more time to build international support. A majority of Americans believe that the evidence that the US had on Iraq did not meet the proper international standards for going to war without UN approval. While most believe that countries have the right to go to war if they have evidence they are in imminent danger of being attacked with WMD, only a minority also believes that the US had such evidence (32%) or, given what is known now, that Iraq in fact posed such a threat (35%). A majority (53%) believes the US had evidence that Iraq was acquiring WMD that could be used against it at some point in the future, but only 31% said such evidence legitimates going to war.

Majorities are questioning the president's veracity. Only 42% said that the president is honest and frank, while 56% said they have doubts about things he says. Seventy-two percent (up from 63% in July) said that when the administration presented evidence of Iraqi WMD to justify going to war, it was either presenting evidence it knew was false (21%) or stretching the truth (51%).

American public opinion has changed since 2003. Less Americans think that the Iraq war was worth it. A CBS News/New York Times poll⁸⁷ led in 2014 reveals that seventy-five percent of Americans do not think the Iraq War was worth it:

⁸⁷ "Most Americans Say Iraq War Wasn't Worth the Costs: Poll." *CBSNews*. CBS Interactive, n.d. Web. 3 Jun. 2015. <<http://www.cbsnews.com/news/most-americans-say-iraq-war-wasnt-worth-the-costs-poll/>>

Was the Iraq War Worth the Costs?

| | Now | 11/2011 | 8/2010 | 3/2008 | 8/2003 |
|--------------|-----|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| Worth it | 18% | 24% | 20% | 28% | 46% |
| Not worth it | 75% | 67% | 72% | 66% | 45% |

SOURCE: CBS News/New York Times

Republicans, Democrats and independents alike view the Iraq war as not worth the costs.

Was the Iraq War Worth the Costs?

| | All | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|--------------|-----|------|------|------|
| Worth it | 18% | 27% | 14% | 16% |
| Not worth it | 75% | 63% | 79% | 79% |

SOURCE: CBS News/New York Times

Forty-four percent of Americans think the threat of terrorism against the U.S. will increase as a result of the current violence there, but more - 50 percent - think it will remain unchanged.

The Violence in Iraq Will Cause the Threat of Terrorism Against the U.S. to...

| | Total | Reps | Dems | Inds |
|---------------|-------|------|------|------|
| Increase | 44% | 60% | 36% | 42% |
| Decrease | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Stay the same | 50% | 36% | 57% | 53% |

SOURCE: CBS News/New York Times

5.2.2 MENA Public Opinion

According to the 2007 BBC poll⁸⁸, the countries disapproving the most the US interventionism are MENA countries.

Opinions of the US Government's Handling of The War in Iraq

By Country

| | Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Don't know |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Argentina | 1 | 2 | 6 | 86 | 6 |
| Australia | 7 | 13 | 19 | 59 | 2 |
| Brazil | 5 | 7 | 15 | 70 | 3 |
| Chile | 5 | 18 | 20 | 45 | 12 |
| China | 2 | 6 | 22 | 61 | 9 |
| Egypt | 4 | 6 | 11 | 79 | 1 |
| France | 1 | 4 | 13 | 79 | 2 |
| Germany | 3 | 8 | 22 | 66 | 1 |
| Great Britain | 4 | 9 | 24 | 57 | 5 |
| Hungary | 3 | 9 | 33 | 37 | 18 |
| India | 22 | 22 | 20 | 21 | 16 |
| Indonesia | 4 | 8 | 27 | 58 | 3 |
| Italy | 4 | 11 | 18 | 63 | 5 |
| Kenya | 39 | 20 | 11 | 21 | 10 |
| Lebanon | 3 | 5 | 13 | 77 | 0 |
| Mexico | 4 | 9 | 14 | 66 | 7 |
| Nigeria | 31 | 26 | 17 | 22 | 4 |
| Philippines | 26 | 29 | 15 | 19 | 11 |
| Poland | 5 | 17 | 30 | 22 | 27 |
| Portugal | 5 | 11 | 22 | 61 | 2 |
| Russia | 1 | 4 | 32 | 50 | 12 |
| South Korea | 3 | 18 | 42 | 36 | 1 |
| Turkey | 3 | 3 | 28 | 62 | 3 |
| UAE | 10 | 8 | 10 | 70 | 1 |
| USA | 18 | 23 | 17 | 40 | 2 |

⁸⁸ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

Opinions of the US Government's Handling of The Israeli-Hezbollah War

By Country

| | Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Don't know |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Argentina | 1 | 2 | 6 | 79 | 12 |
| Australia | 6 | 19 | 26 | 40 | 9 |
| Brazil | 3 | 7 | 19 | 63 | 7 |
| Chile | 4 | 12 | 22 | 44 | 18 |
| China | 2 | 9 | 27 | 39 | 22 |
| Egypt | 3 | 4 | 14 | 78 | 1 |
| France | 2 | 9 | 18 | 63 | 8 |
| Germany | 3 | 15 | 28 | 46 | 8 |
| Great Britain | 5 | 14 | 29 | 41 | 12 |
| Hungary | 2 | 12 | 29 | 28 | 29 |
| India | 15 | 22 | 22 | 16 | 25 |
| Indonesia | 4 | 9 | 26 | 55 | 7 |
| Italy | 4 | 13 | 23 | 47 | 13 |
| Kenya | 26 | 20 | 15 | 20 | 20 |
| Lebanon | 11 | 5 | 6 | 76 | 0 |
| Mexico | 4 | 18 | 40 | 18 | 20 |
| Nigeria | 27 | 25 | 20 | 18 | 10 |
| Philippines | 24 | 30 | 16 | 17 | 13 |
| Poland | 5 | 17 | 27 | 13 | 37 |
| Portugal | 4 | 15 | 26 | 46 | 9 |
| Russia | 2 | 7 | 35 | 29 | 29 |
| South Korea | 2 | 21 | 45 | 25 | 7 |
| Turkey | 2 | 3 | 28 | 61 | 7 |
| UAE | 6 | 9 | 10 | 71 | 3 |
| USA | 19 | 27 | 21 | 26 | 8 |

Opinions of the US Government's Handling of Detainees in Guantanamo

By Country

| | Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Don't know |
|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Argentina | 1 | 2 | 4 | 74 | 19 |
| Australia | 7 | 11 | 20 | 57 | 5 |
| Brazil | 5 | 8 | 18 | 58 | 11 |
| Chile | 3 | 12 | 18 | 45 | 22 |
| China | 2 | 10 | 20 | 39 | 29 |
| Egypt | 4 | 3 | 17 | 70 | 7 |
| France | 3 | 5 | 15 | 67 | 11 |
| Germany | 3 | 6 | 19 | 70 | 3 |
| Great Britain | 4 | 10 | 25 | 51 | 10 |
| Hungary | 1 | 6 | 22 | 47 | 23 |
| India | 14 | 20 | 18 | 21 | 26 |
| Indonesia | 3 | 9 | 29 | 43 | 16 |
| Italy | 4 | 6 | 18 | 64 | 9 |
| Kenya | 19 | 15 | 14 | 24 | 27 |
| Lebanon | 6 | 3 | 9 | 71 | 0 |
| Mexico | 3 | 12 | 41 | 29 | 15 |
| Nigeria | 18 | 27 | 24 | 14 | 17 |
| Philippines | 12 | 24 | 16 | 16 | 32 |
| Poland | 2 | 6 | 28 | 33 | 31 |
| Portugal | 2 | 6 | 18 | 66 | 9 |
| Russia | 1 | 6 | 26 | 31 | 36 |
| South Korea | 4 | 21 | 42 | 18 | 15 |
| Turkey | 2 | 1 | 22 | 63 | 11 |
| UAE | 4 | 10 | 9 | 68 | 9 |
| USA | 17 | 22 | 21 | 29 | 11 |

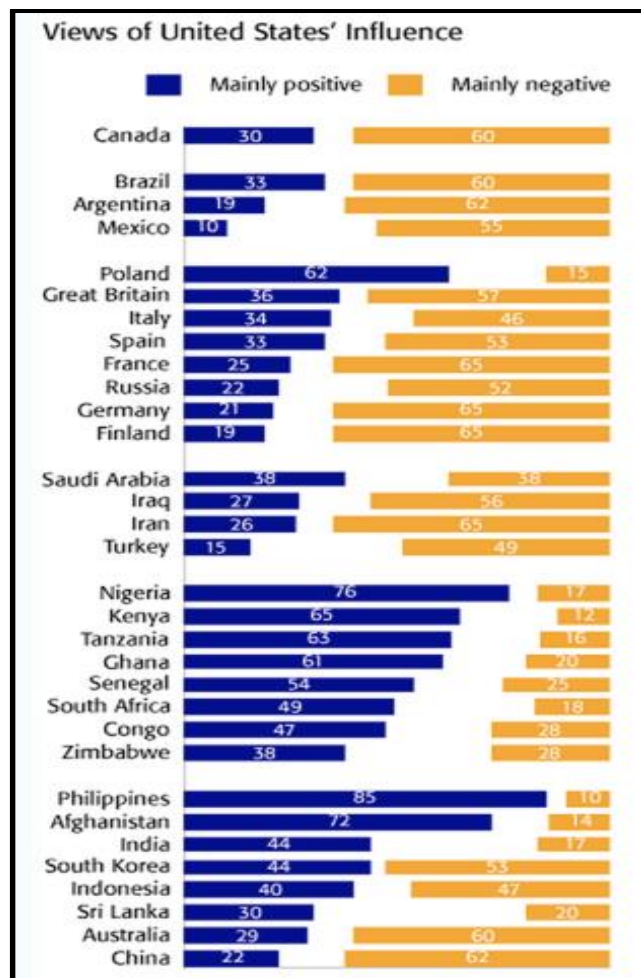
Opinions on the US Military Presence in the Middle East

By Country

| | Stabilizing force | Provokes more conflict than it prevents | Both/ neither | Don't know |
|---------------|-------------------|---|---------------|------------|
| Argentina | 3 | 86 | 2 | 9 |
| Australia | 18 | 72 | 7 | 3 |
| Brazil | 8 | 83 | 4 | 5 |
| Chile | 14 | 68 | 3 | 15 |
| China | 12 | 72 | 3 | 14 |
| Egypt | 14 | 85 | 1 | 0 |
| France | 9 | 80 | 6 | 5 |
| Germany | 17 | 73 | 8 | 2 |
| Great Britain | 14 | 72 | 3 | 11 |
| Hungary | 13 | 58 | 8 | 21 |
| India | 20 | 38 | 14 | 28 |
| Indonesia | 9 | 83 | 1 | 7 |
| Italy | 17 | 69 | 6 | 8 |
| Kenya | 40 | 46 | 3 | 11 |
| Lebanon | 15 | 77 | 6 | 0 |
| Mexico | 10 | 80 | 2 | 8 |
| Nigeria | 49 | 38 | 7 | 6 |
| Philippines | 41 | 39 | 9 | 11 |
| Poland | 16 | 56 | 9 | 20 |
| Portugal | 15 | 77 | 5 | 3 |
| Russia | 7 | 72 | 8 | 13 |
| South Korea | 17 | 75 | 4 | 4 |
| Turkey | 4 | 76 | 6 | 13 |
| UAE | 17 | 66 | 10 | 7 |
| USA | 33 | 53 | 6 | 8 |

5.2.2.1 In Saudi Arabia

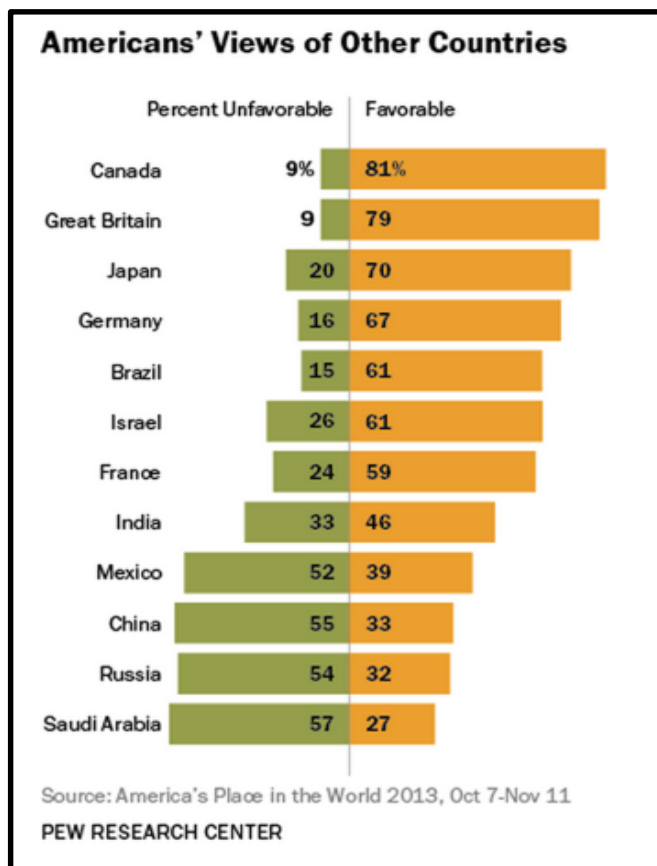
According to a BBC World Service Poll⁸⁹ conducted between October 2005 and January 2006, Saudi Arabia public opinion is divided on the United States: 38% view that U.S. has a positive influence, whereas other 38% view that U.S. has a negative opinion. But for an ultraconservative Islamic absolute monarchy, U.S. has is considered to have a good score.



Source: http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc06-3/index.html

⁸⁹ "Global Poll: Iran Seen Playing Negative Role." *BBC Poll: Attitudes towards Countries*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc06-3/index.html>

A December 2013 poll found that American public opinion has an unfavorable view of Saudi Arabia (57% of Americans unfavorable and 27% favorable), as shown below⁹⁰



Source: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/30/which-countries-americans-like-and-dont/>

This tension is mainly explained by the divergence over the Syrian case. Saudi Arabia signaled deep anger at the Obama administration. But privately, Saudi officials concede that their efforts to forge an alternative strategy in Syria have run up against the same issue the Americans face: how to bolster the military might of a disorganized armed opposition

⁹⁰ "Which Countries Americans like ... and Don't." *Pew Research Center RSS*. N.p., 2013. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/30/which-countries-americans-like-and-dont/>>

without also empowering the jihadists who increasingly dominate its ranks. Besides, Saudi Arabia options are limited because of its dependency on American military and oil technology.⁹¹

5.2.2.2 In Egypt

The 2007 BBC poll⁹² reveals that Egyptian attitudes about the US have remained quite negative and seem to have grown worse over the past year. A significant majority (59%) views the US influence as mainly negative (up from 54% in 2006), while positive views have declined from 21 to 11 percent from 2006. Views of US foreign policy are uniformly negative, with overwhelming majorities disapproving of the US handling of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict (92%), the war in Iraq (90%), and the treatment of detainees at Guantanamo (87%). A very large majority of Egyptians (85%) sees the US military presence in the Middle East as provoking more conflict than it prevents.

5.2.2.3 In Turkey

Turkey, as a country of the Great Middle East, is interesting to study. In 2007⁹³, a large majority (69%) says they have a negative view of US influence in the world, a jump of 20 points from the previous year when only 49 percent held this position. Unfavourable views of US foreign policy are widespread across all areas, with nine in ten disapproving of US handling of the war in Iraq (90%) and the Israel-Hezbollah conflict (89%), and nearly as many criticizing US treatment of detainees at Guantanamo (85%) and its approach to Iran's nuclear program (81%). More than three-quarters in Turkey (76%) agree that the US

⁹¹ Hubbard, Ben, and Robert F. Worth. "Angry Over Syrian War, Saudis Fault U.S. Policy." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 2013. Web. 11 May 2015.

<<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/26/world/middleeast/saudis-faulting-american-policy-on-middle-east.html>>

⁹² World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

⁹³ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

military presence in the Middle East is a disruptive force

5.2.2.4 In the UAE

Views of the US in the UAE are quite unfavourable in 2007⁹⁴, with a solid majority (57%) saying they have a mostly negative view of US influence in the world, and just one in four (25%) says they have a mainly positive view. Emirates have largely negative views of the US on its foreign policy issues, though they are somewhat less negative than other publics in the region. Four in five disapprove of US handling of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict (81%), the war in Iraq (80%), Iran's nuclear program (78%), and the treatment of detainees at Guantanamo and other prisons (77%). Two-thirds in the UAE (66%) are critical of the US on its approach to the North Korean nuclear situation and a majority (54%) also disapproves of the US on global warming. Emirates clearly see the US military presence as a destabilizing factor in the Middle East: 66 percent says the US is provoking more conflict than it prevents, and only 17 percent says it is a stabilizing force.

5.2.2.5 In Iraq

Dr. Steven Kull, Director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA)⁹⁵, explains the Iraqi public opinion about the presence of US troops following a poll conducted in February 2008 for a consortium of news outlets led by ABC News.

73 percent said they oppose the presence of coalition forces in Iraq. Sixty-one percent said that the presence of US forces in Iraq is making the security situation in Iraq worse.

In late 2006 the US State Department conducted polls in numerous major Iraqi cities and

⁹⁴ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

⁹⁵ Iraqi Public Opinion on the Presence of US Troops July 23, 2008
<<http://drum.lib.umd.edu/bitstream/1903/10182/1/Iraqi%20Public%20Opinion%20on%20the%20Presence%20of%20US%20Troops.pdf>>

consistently found about two-thirds calling for the US to leave.

According to Dr. Kull's interpretation, there are two frames through which Iraqis view US-led forces in their country. One frame--the weaker frame--is that security in Iraq is still fragile and that the US may be able to offer some aid to Iraq. The other and more dominant frame is that the United States has effectively occupied Iraq. As early as 2004 Gallup asked Iraqis whether they primarily thought of coalition forces as liberators or occupiers. Seventy-one percent said occupiers.

5.2.2.6 In Lebanon

Lebanese⁹⁶ views of the US remain largely negative. A majority 58 sees the US influence in the world as mainly negative while about one third sees it as mainly positive. Attitudes about US foreign policy are unfavourable across most areas and mirror those of neighbouring Arab republics. Overwhelming majorities disapprove of the US handling of the war in Iraq (90%), the Israel-Hezbollah war (82%) and the treatment of detainees at Guantanamo (80%). Large majorities disapprove of the US approach to the Iranian nuclear situation (64%). Respondents in Lebanon decidedly see the US military presence in the Middle East as provoking more conflict than it prevents with more than three quarters (77%) holding this view.

⁹⁶ World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

6 SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Using the “rebuttal debate” method, 3 mains reasons appear explaining why the people in the MENA see that US counterterrorism military interventions in the Middle East and North Africa have nothing to do with Ethics, Justice nor Security:

First, the arguments used each time before intervening in Iraq, Palestine, Libya and Syria have no moral or legal basis.

Second, many lies and amalgams accompanied counterterrorism speeches as Colin Powell memorable speech while showing a model vial of anthrax to the United Nations Security Council.

The third reason is that the US military interventions are seen as other forms of imperialism and “State Terrorism” leaving the region in total chaos. They can remove a regime but can’t create a viable one.

Public opinion is therefore highly reluctant to military presence in the Middle East. The comparative analysis shows that the American public opinion supports less US foreign policy in the MENA. Public opinion in the MENA is clearly firmer and rejects any US presence in the region. The reasons that comes up most often is that US creates chaos when intervening and that oil is the real motive behind the intervention.

7 CONCLUSION

The unnecessary US-led wars in the MENA with their imaginary justifications and their capacity to engender a contagious chaos were and are still a mistake, were it by intervening directly or helping militias that become later “terrorists”. It’s a vicious circle that the US is feeding continually by amplifying chaos and hatred among a reluctant muslim public opinion.

This leaves us wondering when the circle will stop.

8 Appendices

8.1 Appendix 1: BERNARD-HENRI LEVY, talk at the Royal Geographical Society on 13th December 2011

“The first conclusion I draw of all that happened in Libya is that contrary to (...) what thought all the relativists or culturalist thinkers, the desire for liberty is universal. Already in the 60s in the 70s there was a belief in a big part of the west and of the Intelligentsia, a belief according to which all the central and eastern parts of Europe was in the darkness forever and that the desire for freedom had been cut, eradicated from the mind of the Homo Sovieticus in 1999 the proof has been given to the word of liberty was like the frozen word of Rabelais (...). This happened in the Soviet Union and is still happening in the very minute we are speaking. And this suddenly to the surprise of all the observers, it happened to the Arab World. There was a sort of an unwritten law, a sort of unsaid theorem saying there was an Arab exception that ideals of liberty which was bred by Europe which had their nest and their origins in the West were not made for this part of the planet. The relativists lost the game the universalists did win the party. The proof is given that there are some universal values, some universal wishes which have nothing to do with places, time and circumstances. In the language of French philosophy. It is the Victory of Julien Benda against Charles Maurras. It is the victory of those who believe that mankind is one and that there are some wishes and therefore some rights which are valuable wherever. This happened in Libya and for all the skeptical(...) it was a great surprise. The second philosophical lesson is that the victory of liberty the fact that the job of being a dictator is no longer a good job that it is a dangerous one, see what it is happening with Bashar Al Assad and think of what might be happening to another dictator today, with Vladimir Poutine. I make a bet today, I think that the dictator of Russia the man who is personally

responsible of killing one fifth of the population of Chechnya, 200 000 deaths in a country which counted one million this time. The second philosophical lesson is that there is new wind of freedom all over the world. If it is true that the ideals of democracy, free speech, right for a body, for a soul not to be tortured are on the wave of victory. It is not true that this should mean a sort of end of history. It is not true that we're facing, we are entering in a world where a sort of a great song of freedom will be sung in the same tone by the same orchestra all over the world. I don't believe in the end of history I believe that the wave of freedom which we saw devastating the dictatorship of Libya opened a new space of time if I dare say, a new sequence of time which will be occupied by new forms of political shocks, not the shocks some believed in the past, not the shock between the west and the rest not the shock between the Western world and the world of Islam but shocks inside the world of Islam which is the case in Libya which is the case I know best, between liberals and fundamentalists, between secularists and Islamists between a various ways of living the Muslim faith and so on. There is today a real battle going on, a real political quarrel raging inside Islam. This world of Islam which was frozen by the dictatorships, the dictatorships being one after the other. (...) In the defreezing of that you have real clashes which are taken place and the end of which one cannot predict. The second philosophical lesson the entry in the world not of the non history as Fukuyama, Alexandre Kojève, Hegel said, but of real history. The return of history in this part of the world which was supposed to be a corpse as a cadaver which was supposed to be a sort of frozen body. The third lesson of this Libyan affair for me is the following: I think there is in our countries in the west, in Europe and especially in America, in UK and in France one debate which prevails on my point of view on the others, which is more important than being leftist or rightist for example which has still a meaning but which is maybe more important than right and left, conservative or liberal or liberal and so on which is the debate between what we call in France, I don't know what would be the equivalent in English, the sovereinism, and in French 'le

souverainisme et l'ingérence". "Le souverainisme" meaning that a man or woman is defined of course by his rights but these rights are themselves defined shaped patterned according to the space the borders around this space the states which governs this space where the man or the woman happens to be born and to live. there is a theory which comes from a very far away in history which goes to Hegel which believes that the state-nation, nation as embodied in a state is the last world of mankind and therefore of human rights, one has rights but they are defined in the frame in the limits of a nation, of a state. They are defended by this state they are limited by it and so on. This is sovereignism. Rights have to do with borders. That is everybody has rights but these rights are defined by this frame.

On the other hand you have the partisans of "ingérence" in French, involvement or internationalism (...) those who believe that there are some rights which do not rely on which do not depend of the belonging to a state a nation a part of the world which transcend all that, and that humanity in itself is the guardian of these rights. And that for example when a state betrays its vocation, its duty to protect the rights of its citizens, there is a right, it is not an exception, it is a right, there is a right for the rest of humanity expressed in a way which depends on circumstances, a right to intervene and to decree the illegitimacy of the state concerned. This is a great debate everywhere, in America, between the Jacksonians, the Jeffersonians, the Hamiltonians and the Wilsonians who share the foreign policy of America since the beginning of the American republic. The real debate is this one, those of believe that the task, that every people has a right but it is a problem of there state and the idea that America has something to say, has a message to deliver in some occasions to the rest of the world. In England it's probably the same and in France even more. Libya signs the victory of involvement against sovereignism. Libya signs the fact, and it is the first time in modern history that the international community decided and acted in consequence that she has a duty and the right in a country which has in principle a sovereign state when this sovereignty is exerted in a way which is barbarous. It is a first time. We had

many wars in the past, in the twentieth century, in the nineteenth century. There war of conquest there were wars for empires, there were wars for interest, there were wars for vital space but a war which only dictated by the idea that human consciousness is deeply concerned maybe interpellated by a blood bath in a remote little country which was nearly unknown by most of the diplomats of the world, this sort of world was really a new one. The world which was not waged in the Balkans, in Bosnia. It was waged yes but 200.000 death rate, which wasn't even fourth in Chechnya (...) this world was waged in Libya and this is a real change, a real move a real revolution in the way of thinking of the West. It is the first time that the wish, the right and the duty of involvement prevails on the resignation to sovereignism, prevails on the famous the famous world of Goebbels who said in 1938: "Charbonnier est maître chez soi". "Charbonnier", the "Coleman is master at home". He does what he wants. The right of the states crowns the right of the man and the second depends on the first one. So this is a real theoretical philosophical lesson which has to be drawn and can be drawn from this Libyan event."

8.2 Appendix 2: McCain's e-mail

“Iraq's stability and security has consistently deteriorated since President Obama made the decision to withdraw all of our troops without any residual presence of U.S. forces in 2011. The President's mishandling of Iraq for the past five years, and his consistent inaction on Syria, have now brought us to the edge of disaster: ISIS – a more ambitious, more violent, and more radical offshoot of Al-Qaeda – has taken over a large territory in Iraq and Syria and created the largest terrorist safe haven in history. ISIS's offensive is now reigniting sectarian conflict in Iraq and threatening to erase the gains that nearly 4,500 brave young Americans gave their lives to achieve – and that were largely secure when the President took office in January 2009.

In 2011, our senior military leaders and commanders on the ground believed that keeping a residual U.S. force in Iraq was critical to our national security interests. Even many senior Obama Administration officials, such as former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, agreed. A residual U.S. troop presence could have assisted Iraqi forces in their continued fight against Al Qaeda. It could have provided a platform for greater diplomatic engagement and intelligence cooperation with our Iraqi partners. And it could have made Iranian leaders think twice about using Iraqi airspace to transit military assistance to Assad and his forces in Syria. Unfortunately we don't have the luxury of being able to alter history, but it's not too late to influence events.

On September 10, 2014, the President announced a new U.S. military strategy in response to the threat from ISIS. This includes conducting air strikes against ISIS positions in Iraq and Syria, providing more than 2000 U.S. military personnel to assist the Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) and our Kurdish partners in combating this threat, and training and arming

vetted, moderate Syrian opposition forces.

Although I called on President Obama to take all of these actions sooner, I support them now as a necessary starting point. But in order to defeat ISIS, more needs to be done. U.S. forces on the ground should be expanded to 10,000 troops to assist the Iraqis through intelligence, target acquisition and special forces roles. We should expand aid and military assistance to moderate Syrian rebels and to other coalition partners such as Jordan to help them fight back against ISIS. And we need to consider establishing safe zones or no-fly zones in Syria to protect civilians from airstrikes launched by the Syrian government.

The reality is that we cannot defeat ISIS without forcing Syrian President Bashar al-Assad to leave power and creating conditions on the ground for a negotiated end of the conflict and a political transition in Syria. Assad's barbaric war on the Syrian people has created the conditions for ISIS to grow and gain strength for years, and this will continue as long as he remains in power.

Iran's malign influence presents a further impediment to strategic success against ISIS. Iran is arming and supporting the Assad regime and Shia militias in Iraq as it seeks to carve out spheres of influence in the Middle East. It is time for the Obama Administration to come to terms with this reality and ensure that Iran does not fill the power vacuums created by violence and instability in the region.

Finally, we must find economic, cultural and religious means to motivate young people to reject violent extremism and prevent ISIS from attracting new recruits.”

9 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

| |
|---|
| <i>Baxter, R. R. A Skeptical Look at the Concept of Terrorism. Akron, OH: University of Akron, 1974. Print.</i> |
| <i>Brownlie, Ian. Principles Of Public International Law. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.</i> |
| <i>Chomsky, Noam (April 2002). "What Anthropologists Should Know about the Concept of Terrorism".Anthropology Today. Print</i> |
| <i>Chomsky, Noam. Pirates And Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World. Print.</i> |
| <i>Coxe, William. Memoirs Of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole ... With Original Correspondence and Authentic Papers, Never before Published. In Three Volumes. ... By William Coxe, .. London: printed for T. Cadell, jun. and W. Davies, 1798. Print.</i> |
| <i>Edelstein, Dan. The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature, and the French Revolution. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Print.</i> |
| <i>Higgins, Rosalyn, and Maurice Flory. Terrorism And International Law. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.</i> |
| <i>Hodges, Henry G. The Doctrine of Intervention. Princeton: The Banner Press, 1915. Print.</i> |
| <i>Jones, Terry. Terry Jones's War on the War on Terror. S.l.: Thunder's Mouth, 2004. Print.</i> |

| |
|--|
| <i>McGilvray, James A. The Cambridge Companion to Chomsky. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Print.</i> |
| <i>Morgan, Diane. Essential Islam: a Comprehensive Guide to Belief and Practice. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2010. Print.</i> |
| <i>Oke, Adekunle M. State Terrorism: an Analysis of Third World Perspectives. 1995. Print.</i> |
| <i>Pearson, Monte. Perils Of Empire: the Roman Republic and the American Republic. New York: Algora Pub., 2008. Print.</i> |
| <i>Quinn, Adam. US Foreign Policy in Context: National Ideology from the Founders to the Bush Doctrine. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009. Print.</i> |
| <i>Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. The Social Contract. Baltimore, MD.: Penguin Books, 1968. Print.</i> |
| <i>Schmid, Alex Peter., A. J. Jongman, and Michael Stohl. Political Terrorism: a New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature. Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1988. Print.</i> |
| <i>Stearns, Raymond Phineas. Pageant Of Europe; Sources and Selections from the Renaissance to the Present Day. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947. Print.</i> |
| <i>Stohl, Michael. The Politics Of Terrorism. New York: M. Dekker, 1988. Print.</i> |
| <i>Williamson, Myra. Terrorism, War and International Law: the Legality of the Use of Force against Afghanistan in 2001. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009. Print.</i> |

Journal articles, Research Centers' papers, Conference scripts, National and International organizations reports:

| |
|--|
| <p>"A Conversation With CIA Director John Brennan." <i>forum.iop.harvard.edu</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://forum.iop.harvard.edu/content/conversation-cia-director-john-brennan></p> |
| <p>"America's Image In the World: Findings from the Pew Global Attitudes Project." <i>Pew Research Centers Global Attitudes Project RSS</i>. N.p., 2007. Web. 4 Jun. 2015. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/03/14/americas-image-in-the-world-findings-from-the-pew-global-attitudes-project/></p> |
| <p>"Amplifying Officials, Squelching Dissent." <i>FAIR</i>. N.p., Jan. 2003. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://fair.org/extra-online-articles/amplifying-officials-squelching-dissent/></p> |
| <p>"Angry Over Syrian War, Saudis Fault U.S. Policy." <i>The New York Times</i>, Hubbard, Ben, and Robert F. Worth. The New York Times, 2013. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/26/world/middleeast/saudis-faulting-american-policy-on-middle-east.html></p> |
| <p>"Anti-Semitism, Zionism, And the Palestinians Noam Chomsky Variant 16." <i>Anti-Semitism, Zionism, and the Palestinians Noam Chomsky Variant 16</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.variant.org.uk/16texts/chomsky.html></p> |
| <p>"Arms For the King and His Family: The U.S. Arms Sale to Saudi Arabia." <i>Jerusalem Center For Public Affairs</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://jcpa.org/article/arms-for-the-king-and-his-family-the-u-s-arms-sale-to-saudi-arabia/></p> |
| <p>"Bernard-Henri Lévy On the Libyan Intervention and Universal Values." <i>SoundCloud</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <https://soundcloud.com/intelligence2/bernard-henri-levy></p> |

| |
|---|
| <p>“C.I.A. Said To Aid in Steering Arms to Syrian Opposition.” <i>The New York Times</i>, Schmitt, Eric. The New York Times, 2012. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/21/world/middleeast/cia-said-to-aid-in-steering-arms-to-syrian-rebels.html? r=0></p> |
| <p>“Cable's War Coverage Suggests a New 'Fox Effect' On Television Journalism.” <i>The New York Times</i>, Rutenberg, Jim. The New York Times, 2003. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/16/us/nation-war-media-cable-s-war-coverage-suggests-new-fox-effect-television.html></p> |
| <p>“Chomsky is voted world's top public intellectual, World news”, 18 October 2005, The Guardian.<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/18/books.highereducation></p> |
| <p>“CIA Holds Terror Suspects In Secret Prisons.” <i>Washington Post</i>. The Washington Post, Feb. 2005. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/01/ar2005110101644.html></p> |
| <p>“Coalition Members.” <i>Coalition Members</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030327-10.html></p> |
| <p>“Colin Powell Regrets Iraq War Intelligence.” - <i>Al Jazeera English</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2011/09/20119116916873488.html></p> |
| <p>“Country Profile: Iran”, COUNTRY PROFILE: IRAN, Library of Congress May 2008.</p> <p><http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Iran.pdf></p> |
| <p>“Country Profile: UAE”, COUNTRY PROFILE: UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (UAE)Library of Congress, July 2007. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/UAE.pdf></p> |

| |
|---|
| <p>“Declaring War on the Intellect - Israel and Noam Chomsky.” <i>Haaretz.com</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/declaring-war-on-the-intellect-israel-and-noam-chomsky-1.290903></p> |
| <p>“Definitions of Terrorism in the U.S. Code” <i>FBI</i>. FBI, 2013. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/terrorism/terrorism-definition></p> |
| <p>“Discours du Président de la République. Cérémonie à la mémoire des victimes du terrorisme”. (“Ceremony in the memory of victims of terrorism, The President’s speech”), 19 september, 2007. <http://www.researchschool.org/intranets/discours-vict-terorisme-19-09-07.pdf></p> |
| <p>“Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis.” <i>Drone Wars Yemen: Analysis</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://securitydata.newamerica.net/drones/yemen/analysis2679.html?page=1></p> |
| <p>“France Signs UAE Military Base Agreement - USATODAY.Com.” <i>France signs UAE military base agreement - USATODAY.com</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/2008-01-15-3514366897_x.htm></p> |
| <p>“French President Sarkozy Opens UAE Base.” <i>BBC News</i>. BBC, 2009. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8067600.stm></p> |
| <p>“Global Poll: Iran Seen Playing Negative Role.” <i>BBC Poll: Attitudes towards Countries</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.globescan.com/news_archives/bbc06-3/index.html></p> |
| <p>“Islam, Quran Verses and Hadith: March 2013.” <i>Islam, Quran verses and hadith: March 2013</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://quranversesandhadith.blogspot.kr/2013_03_01_archive.html></p> |

| |
|--|
| <p>“Islamic State Gains Libya Foothold - BBC News.” <i>BBC News</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-31518698></p> |
| <p>“Keynote Address At the National Democratic Institute's 2011 Democracy Awards Dinner.” <i>U.S. Department of State</i>. U.S. Department of State, Jul. 2011. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2011/11/176750.htm></p> |
| <p>“Les ambiguïtés du droit d'ingérence humanitaire”, (“The ambiguities of humanitarian intervention”), Olivier Corten, Senior lecturer, Center of International Law and Sociology Applied to International Law, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium, <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/6103~v~Les_ambiguites_du_droit_d_ingerence_humanitaire.pdf></p> |
| <p>“Les Etats-Unis Démentent Vouloir Livrer Des Armes à Israël.” (“The US denies planning to deliver weapons to Israel”) <i>Le Monde.fr</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2009/01/10/les-etats-unis-dementent-vouloir-livrer-des-armes-a-israel_1140129_3218.html></p> |
| <p>“Libya UN Resolution 1973: Text Analysed - BBC News.” <i>BBC News</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12782972></p> |
| <p>“Libya, Syria and Middle East unrest”, 21 August 2011, The Guardian, Peter Walker and Beatrice Woolf, <http://www.theguardian.com/global/middle-east-live/2011/aug/21/libya-syria-israel-middle-east-unrest></p> |
| <p>“Mauvaise Fin Pour Une Mauvaise Guerre.” (“A Bad End for a Bad War”) <i>Le Monde.fr</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2011/12/21/mauvaise-fin-pour-une-mauvaise-guerre_1621072_3232.html></p> |

| |
|--|
| <p>“Middle East And North Africa.” <i>Middle East and North Africa</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://web.worldbank.org/wbsite/external/countries/menaext/0,,menupk:247619~pagepk:146748~pipk:146812~thesitepk:256299,00.html></p> |
| <p>“Most Americans Say Iraq War Wasn't Worth the Costs: Poll.” <i>CBSNews</i>. CBS Interactive, n.d. Web. 3 Jun. 2015. <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/most-americans-say-iraq-war-wasnt-worth-the-costs-poll/></p> |
| <p>“National Strategy for Counterterrorism 2011, June 2011.</p> <p><https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf ></p> |
| <p>“NATO's Victory In Libya.” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>. N.p., Feb. 2012. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/2012-02-02/natos-victory-libya></p> |
| <p>“Naufrages En Méditerranée: d'Où Viennent Les Migrants?” (<i>“Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean: Where do the Migrants come from”</i>)? N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.bfmtv.com/international/naufrages-en-mediterranee-d-ou-viennent-les-migrants-879162.html></p> |
| <p>“Nicolas Sarkozy's Napoleonic Ambitions Expand to the Middle East.” <i>The Telegraph, Paris, Henry Samuel</i>. Telegraph Media Group, n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/5388944/nicolas-sarkozys-napoleonic-ambitions-expand-to-the-middle-east.html></p> |
| <p>“Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations,” Congressional Research Service, Christopher Blanchard. . Web. 14 June 2010.</p> <p><http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/145596.pdf></p> |

| |
|---|
| <p>“Secretary Albright.” <i>PBS</i>. PBS, n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/middle_east/july-dec98/albright_12-17.html></p> |
| <p>“Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' Over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” <i>UN News Center</i>. UN, n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm></p> |
| <p>“Text: Bin Laden's statement”, Translation supplied by the Associated Press Sunday, 7 October 2001, The Guardian.</p> <p><http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/07/afghanistan.terrorism15></p> |
| <p>“The "Bush Doctrine": Can Preventive War be Justified”, Robert J. Delahunty & John Yoo, 1 January 2009,</p> <p><http://scholarship.law.berkeley.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1774&context=facpubs></p> |
| <p>“THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUE.” THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLLS</p> <p><http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/IraqReeval_Nov03/IraqReeval%20Nov03%20pr.pdf></p> |
| <p>“The Charter of the United Nations”</p> <p><http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml></p> |
| <p>“The Middle Eastern Mesh.” <i>The Economist</i>. The Economist Newspaper, Mar. 2015. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/04/daily-chart-0></p> |

| |
|--|
| <p>“The New War Against Terror, By Noam Chomsky (Talk Delivered at The Technology & Culture Forum at MIT).” <i>The New War Against Terror, by Noam Chomsky (Talk delivered at The Technology & Culture Forum at MIT)</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.chomsky.info/talks/20011018.htm></p> |
| <p>“The Press and Public Misperceptions About the Iraq War, A study looks at whether the press failed in its reporting about the war”, June 15, 2004, Steven Kull</p> <p><http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/IraqMedia_Oct03/IraqMedia_Oct03_rpt.pdf></p> |
| <p>“The seeds of Iraq's future terror, 28 October 2003, The Guardian.</p> <p><http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/oct/28/iraq.politics></p> |
| <p>“The United States Does Not Know Who It's Killing.” <i>Foreign Policy The United States Does Not Know Who Its Killing Comments</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/23/the-united-states-does-not-know-who-its-killing-drone-strike-deaths-pakistan/></p> |
| <p>“Timeline Yemen.” <i>Timeline Yemen</i>. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015.</p> <p><http://www.timelines.ws/countries/yemen.html></p> |
| <p>“U.S. Says Arms Shipment to Israel Not Linked to Gaza.” <i>Reuters UK</i>. N.p., Sep. 2009. Web. 11 May 2015. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2009/01/10/us-israel-arms-usa-iduktre50874b20090110></p> |
| <p>“U.S. Security Assistance to Lebanon” Casey L. Addis Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs 19 January 2011. Congressional Research Service</p> <p><https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R40485.pdf></p> |
| <p>“United States of America/Yemen, Secret Detention in CIA “Black Sites”, (AI Index: AMR 51/177/2005) issued by Amnesty International in November 2005.</p> |

“US Authorizes Financial Support For The Free Syrian Army - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East.” *Al-Monitor*. N.p., 2012. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2012/al-monitor/us-authorizes-financial-support.html>>

“Which Countries Americans like ... and Don't.” *Pew Research Center RSS*. N.p., 2013. Web. 11 May 2015. <<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/30/which-countries-americans-like-and-dont/>>

“World View of US Role Goes From Bad to Worse BBC World Service POLL Web. Jan. 2007 <<http://www-tc.pbs.org/weta/crossroads/incl/bbcpoll.pdf>>

“ZCommunications » U.S. Savage Imperialism.” *ZCommunications*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 May 2015. <<https://zcomm.org/zmagazine/u-s-savage-imperialism-by-noam-chomsky/>>

국문 초록

이 논문은 중동과 북아프리카(MENA)에서의 군사적으로 개입하기 위하여 인권, 윤리, 정의 그리고 치안과 같은 이슈에 대한 간접주의자들의 논점의 약점에 대해 설명하고 있다.

따라서 우리는 윤리, 법적인 근거에 의한 개입의 필요성과 US 가 직접적 혹은 간접적으로 개입을 정당화하기 위해 사용하는 논점에 대해 검증한다.

테러리즘은 정치상의 무기로 가정하며, 우리는 정당성을 평가하기 위해 MENA 의 공식적 의견을 고려한다.

첫 째, 우리는 MENA 에서 주요한 지정학적인 문맥을 설명한다. 누가 주요한 선수인가: 아군인가 적인가?

우리는 “대테러”라는 이름으로 MENA 에서 전쟁과 군사적 지원을 정당화하기 위해 사용되는 주요 논점을 정한다. 그리고 우리는 이런 논점이 왜 MENA 에서 무슬림들에게 받아들여 질 수 없는지에 대해 설명하고자 한다.

MENA 의여론을분석함에 따라, 우리는 간접자들이 그 지역에서 무정부 상태와 혐오를 만들어 내고 세계적으로 테러리스트 위협을 증폭시킨다는 것을 보여준다.

따라서 그들은 단순히 올바른 테러방지 정책으로서 고려될 수 없다.

혼동으로부터 질서는 나타날 수 없다.

키워드: 테러, 군사 개입, MENA

Student ID : 2014-24321